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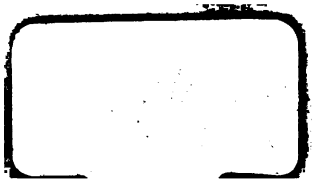

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING

THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,

LATE KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

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Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of ancient Greece.

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

CHAPTER LXII.

On the Nature of Governments, according to Aristotle and other Philosophers.

We received the last letters of which I have given copies, at Smyrna, on our return from Persia;* in which city we learned that Aristotle, after having passed three years with Hermias, governor of Atarnea, had gone to reside at Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos.[s]

We were so near to him, and had been so long without having seen him, that we resolved to surprise him with a visit. Our attention gave him great pleasure. He was preparing to depart for Macedon, Philip having at length prevailed on him to undertake the education of his son Alexander. I sacrifice my

* In the spring of the year 343 before Christ. [s] Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. § 3. et 9. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. c. 5. t. vi. p. 728.

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liberty, said he to us, but here is my excuse; showing us at the same time a letter from the king, conceived in the following words:[t] "A son is born to me, and I return thanks to the gods, less that they have given him to me, than that he has been born in your time, since I hope that your care and instruction will render him both worthy of me and the kingdom to which he is to succeed."

We passed whole days with Aristotle, and gave him an exact account of our travels. The following particulars appeared to engage his attention. I told him that, when we were in Phœnicia, we were invited to dinner with some Persian noblemen, at the house of the satrap of the province.—The conversation, as usual, only turned on *the great king*. You know, said I, that the authority of the Persian monarch is much less respected in the distant provinces than in the capital of the empire. Many instances were given of his haughtiness and despotism. It must be granted, said the satrap, that kings believe themselves to be of a totally distinct species from us.[u] Some days after, being in company with several subaltern officers of the same province, they complained to us of the ill treatment and injustice which they had suffered from the satrap. It appears manifest to me, said one of them, that a satrap thinks himself of a quite different nature from his inferior officers. I afterwards interrogated their slaves, who

[t] Aul. Gell. lib. 9. c. 3. [u] Lib. de Mund. ap. Aristot. c. 6. t. 1. p. 611. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 15. lib. 9. c. 41. Quint. Curt. lib. 7. c. 8.

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all lamented the rigour of their fate, and agreed that their masters must certainly think themselves a race of mortals of a superior kind to them.[x] On our side we were convinced, with Plato, that the greater part of men, by turns slaves and tyrants, exclaim against injustice less from the hatred which it merits, than from the fear which it inspires.[y]

While we were at Susa, in a conversation which we had with a Persian, we remarked to him, that the condition of despots is most wretched, because they possess sufficient power to effect the greatest mischiefs. We, in consequence, deplored the slavery to which his country was reduced,[z] and contrasted it with the liberty enjoyed in Greece.—He replied, with a smile: You have passed through many of our provinces; in what condition have you found them? Extremely flourishing and populous, answered I; their trade is extensive, agriculture is honoured and nobly patronised by the sovereign;[a] industry and activity are conspicuous in their manufactures; and they are in a state of profound tranquillity, though they are exposed to some oppressions on the part of their governors.

No longer confide then, replied he, in the idle declamations of your writers. I am acquainted with that Greece of which you speak. I have passed several years in the country, studied its institutions, and been witness to the dissensions to which it is a

[x] Philem. ap. Stob. Serm. 60. p. 384. [y] Plat. de Rep. lib. I. t. ii. p. 344. [z] Id. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698. [a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 828.

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prey. Name to me, I do not say a whole nation, but a single city, which does not every moment experience the cruelties of despotism or the convulsions of anarchy. Your laws are excellent, but they are not better observed than ours; for we have some very wise ones, which remain ineffectual because the empire is too opulent and extensive. When the sovereign respects them, we would not change our condition for yours; when he violates them, the people have at least the consolation of hoping that the thunderbolt will only fall on the principal citizens, and recoil on the hand that has launched it. In fine, we are sometimes unhappy from the abuse of power, but you are almost always so from the excess of liberty.

These reflexions insensibly induced Aristotle to discourse on the different forms of governments, on which subject he had been employed since our departure from Greece. He had begun by collecting the laws of almost all nations, both Greek and Barbarian,[b] which he showed us, arranged in order, and accompanied with remarks in so many distinct treatises, to the number of more than a hundred and fifty.[c]* He flattered himself he should one day be able to complete his collection. It contained, among others, the constitutions of Athens, Lacedæmon, the

[b] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. c. 4. t. ii. p. 200. [c] Diogen. Laert. lib. 5. § 27. * Diogenes Laertius says, that the number of these treatises was a hundred and fifty-eight. Ammonius, in the Life of Aristotle, increases it to two hundred and fifty-five.

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Thessalians, the Arcadians, Syracuse, Marseilles, and even that of the little island of Ithaca.[d]

This prodigious collection might alone have insured the immortality of the author, but he only considered it as a scaffold, by the aid of which he might erect a still more noble monument. He had collected facts which presented remarkable differences and contradictions. To derive from them consequences useful to the human race, it was necessary to do what had not hitherto been done, to penetrate to the spirit of the laws, and to follow them in their effects; to examine, from the experience of successive ages, the causes which preserve or destroy states; to propose remedies against the vices which are inherent in every constitution, and against the principles of change which are foreign to it; to prepare, in a word, for any new legislator, a well-digested code, from which he may select the government best adapted to the character of his nation, according to the circumstances of time and place.[e]

This great work[f] was nearly finished when we arrived at Mytilene, and was published some years after.[g] Aristotle permitted us to read it, and make the extract which I here subjoin.* I shall divide it into two parts.

[d] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 197. [e] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 144. [f] Id. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 295. [g] Id. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 404. * See note I. at the end of the volume.

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FIRST PART.

On the different Kinds of Government.

We must first distinguish two kinds of government; those in which public utility is the great object, and those in which it is held of no account.[h] In the former class we place the limited monarchy, the aristocratical government, and the republic properly so called. Thus the constitution may be excellent, whether the supreme authority be confided to a single person, be exercised by many, or reside solely in the people.[i]

The second class comprehends tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, which are only corruptions of the three preceding forms of government; for limited monarchy degenerates into despotism, when the sovereign, referring every thing to himself, no longer acknowledges any bounds to his power;[k] the aristocracy becomes an oligarchy, when the supreme power is no longer possessed by a certain number of virtuous persons, but by a small number of rulers, whose riches alone constitute their claim to authority; and the republican government is debased into a democracy, when the poorest class of people have too great an influence in public deliberations.[l]

As the word monarch equally signifies a king or a tyrant, and since it may happen that the power of the one may be as absolute as that of the other, we

[h] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 6. t. ii. p. 345. [i] Id. ibid. c. 1. p. 346. [k] Id. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 530. [l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 346.

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shall distinguish them by two principal differences;* the one derived from the use which they make of their power, and the other from the dispositions which they find in their subjects. As to the former, we have already said that the king in every thing he does acts for his people, but the tyrant for himself alone; and as to the latter, we affirm that the most absolute authority becomes lawful if the subjects consent to establish or support it.[m]

Pursuing these preliminary ideas, we shall find in the history of nations five kinds of kingly power.

The first is that which prevailed in the heroic ages. The sovereign possessed the right of commanding the army, and inflicting the sentence of death while he had the command of it; he presided at the sacrifices, determined the causes of individuals, and transmitted his authority to his children.[n] The second was established when never-ceasing dissensions had forced a city to confide the supreme authority to an individual, either during his life, or for a certain number of years. The third is that usual among the barbarous nations of Asia. The sovereign there enjoys an immense power, which he has nevertheless received from his father, and against which the people have never remonstrated. The fourth is that of Lacedæmon, which appears to be the most conformable to the laws, which have limited the authority of the sovereign to the command

* See note II. at the end of the volume. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 14. t. ii. p. 357; lib. 4. c. 10. p. 374. [n] Id. ibid. p. 356 et 357.

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of the armies and to functions relative to divine worship. The fifth, which I shall call royalty, or limited monarchy, is that in which the sovereign exercises in his states the same authority as a father in the midst of his family.[o]

The last is the only kind of royal power which I shall here consider. I shall not speak of the first, because it has long been almost every where abolished; nor of the second, because it was merely a temporary commission; nor of the third, because it is only found among the Asiatics, who are more accustomed to servitude than the Greeks and Europeans;[p] nor of that of Lacedæmon, because, confined within narrow limits, it only makes a part of the constitution, and is not in itself a distinct government.

The following then is the idea which we have formed of the true regal power. The sovereign enjoys the supreme authority,[q] and extends his care over every part of the administration, as well as the preservation of the tranquillity of the state.

It is his office to cause the laws to be executed; and as, on the one hand, he cannot enforce them against those who violate them, if he have not a body of troops at his disposal; and as, on the other, he may abuse this trust, we shall establish it as a general rule that he ought to possess the power requisite to restrain individuals, but not sufficient to oppress the nation.[r]

[o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 310; lib. 3. c. 14. p. 356.
[p] Id. ibid. [q] Id. ibid. p. 357; c. 15. p. 359. C. c. 16 et 17.
[r] Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 359. C.

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He may determine in cases for which the laws have not provided.[s] The care of administering justice and punishing the guilty shall be confined to magistrates.[t] As it is impossible that he should himself see and regulate all things, he shall have a council, the members of which may advise and instruct him by their knowledge and experience, and assist him in the administration of the various and minute affairs of the kingdom.[u]

Taxes shall not be imposed exeept on occasion of a war, or some other necessity of the state; nor shall the sovereign insult the poverty of the people by lavishing their property on foreigners, stage-players, or courtesans.[x] It is, besides, his duty, by meditating on the nature of the power with which he is invested, to render himself accessible to his subjects,[y] and live in the midst of them as a father in the midst of his children.[z] He should be more occupied by their interests than his own;[a] and the splendour which surrounds him should inspire respect and not terror.[b] Honour should be the motive of all his enterprises;[c] and the love of his people their reward.[d] He should discern and recompense merit;[e] and, under his government, the rich, secured in the possession of their property, and the poor protected against the power of the rich, should learn to enter-

[s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 351. E. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 410. A. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 361. [x] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 409. [y] Id. ibid. p. 410. [z] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 310. [a] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 410. [b] Id. ibid. p. 409. [c] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 403. [d] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 310. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 409.

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tain a just esteem of themselves, and to love and defend one of the noblest constitutions established among men.[f]

Yet, as the excellence of such a form of government depends solely on the moderation of the prince, it is manifest that the security and liberty of the subject must depend on it likewise; and hence it is that, in the cities of Greece, the citizens, considering themselves as all equals, and having all a right to participate in the sovereign authority, fix their attention more on the inconveniences than on the advantages of a government, which may by turns be the cause of the happiness or the wretchedness of a people.*

Royalty being only founded on the confidence which it inspires, is destroyed when the sovereign renders himself odious by his despotism, or contemptible by his vices.[g]

Under a tyrant, the whole strength of a nation is turned against itself. The government is engaged in a perpetual war with its subjects; it attacks them in their laws, in their property, in their honour, and

[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 403; c. 11. p. 410; lib. 3. c. 14. p. 356. * Aristotle has said scarcely any thing of the great monarchies which subsisted in his time, as those of Persia and Egypt; nor has he spoken more of the government of Macedon, though he must necessarily have been well acquainted with it. He only had in view that species of kingly power which sometimes was established in some of the cities of Greece, and which was of a quite different nature from that of the modern monarchies. (See Montesquieu, Esprit de Lois, liv. 1. chap. 9. t. i. p. 224.) [g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 406; et c. 11. p. 408.

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only leaves them the deep and painful sense of their misery.

A king proposes to himself to render his reign glorious, and effect the good of his people; but a tyrant has no other view than to draw to himself all the riches of his states, to lavish them on his vile pleasures.[h] Dionysius, king of Syracuse, had so multiplied taxes, that, within the space of five years, the property of every individual in his kingdom had passed into the royal treasury.[i] As the tyrant only reigns by the fear which he inspires, his security must be the single object of his attention.[k] Hence while the guard of a king is composed of citizens interested in the good of the public, that of the tyrant only consists of foreigners, who serve as the instruments of his fury or his caprice.[l]

Such a constitution, if indeed it deserves that name, contains within itself all the vices of the most corrupted governments. It naturally therefore cannot support itself, but by the most violent or the most shameful means, and must include within it all the possible causes of its destruction.

Tyranny may maintain itself when the prince takes the precaution to cut off those citizens who are too much raised above the rest;[m] when he is careful to prevent the progress of knowledge which may enlighten, and to forbid all public entertainments or

[h] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 403. [i] Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 407. [k] Id. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 530. [l] Id. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 403. [m] Id. ibid. p. 407. Eurip. in Supplic. p. 445.

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meetings which may unite his subjects; when, after the example of the kings of Syracuse, he besieges them with spies, who continually hold them in disquietude and dread; when, by adroit artifices, he sows disputes in families, divisions among the different orders of the state, and distrust even in the most intimate connexions; when the people, crushed by public labours, laden with taxes, dragged to wars purposely excited, and so depressed as to be incapable of all elevation of ideas or nobility of sentiment, have neither the courage nor the means to throw off the yoke by which they are oppressed; when the throne is only surrounded by vile flatterers,[n] and subaltern tyrants, by so much the more useful to the despot, as they are not restrained either by shame or by remorse.

There is, however, one method that may be employed still more successfully than these to perpetuate such an authority;[o] which is, when, preserving all the plenitude of his power, the sovereign is willing to subject himself to forms which may attemper its rigour, and exhibit himself to his people rather as a father who claims them as his inheritance, than as a ferocious animal,[p] of whom they must be the victims.

As the people ought to be persuaded that their fortune is sacrificed to the good of the state, and not to the individual advantage of the sovereign, the monarch should apply himself to infuse into the minds of his subjects an exalted opinion of his abi-

[n] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 407. [o] Id. ibid. p. 408.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 360.

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lities for the science of government.[q] It will be very advantageous to him to possess the qualities which inspire respect, and the semblance of the virtues which attract love: nor will it be less so that he should appear attached, but without mean superstition, to the rites of religion; for the people will believe him to be restrained by the fear of the gods, and will not dare to rise against a prince whom they protect.[r]

But he ought especially to avoid advancing one of his subjects to a power which he may abuse;[s] and still more ought he to abstain from injuries and insults on individuals, and from wounding the honour of families. Among the multitude of princes whom the abuse of power has precipitated from the throne, a great number have drawn on themselves destruction by the personal injuries of which they have been guilty, or which they have authorised in others.[t]

By the observance of similar maxims, arbitrary power has maintained its authority at Sicyon during a whole century, and at Corinth for nearly the same period.[u] The sovereigns who governed those two states obtained the esteem or the confidence of their people, some by their military talents, others by their affability, and others by the respect which, on certain occasions, they paid to the laws. Every where else tyranny has subsisted a longer or a shorter time, according as it has more or less neglected to conceal itself. It has on some occasions been seen to disarm

[q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 409. [r] Id. ibid. [s] Id. ibid. p. 410. [t] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 403. [u] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 411.

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the irritated multitude, and on others, to break the chains of the slaves and call them to its aid;[x] but it is absolutely impossible that a government so monstrous should not come to an end, because the hatred or contempt which it inspires[y] must, sooner or later, avenge the majesty of injured and insulted nations.

When, after the extinction of the regal power, the sovereign authority returns to the societies from which it has emanated, some choose to commit the exercise of it to the body of the nation, and others to confide it to a certain number of citizens.

Then take birth two powerful factions, that of the nobles, and that of the people, both of which were before repressed by the authority of a single chief, but, after the extinction of that power, became more intent to destroy than to counterbalance each other. Their divisions have almost every where corrupted the primitive constitution, and other causes have contributed to its change. Such are the imperfections which experience has discovered in the systems of all legislators, the abuses to which even the most legitimate power is liable, and the variations which cities and nations have experienced in their power, their manners, and their relations to other states. Thus, among the Greeks, all equally ardent in the love of liberty, we shall not find two nations, or two cities, however near to each other they may be, which have precisely the same legislation and the same form of government; but we shall every where perceive the con-

[x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 410. [y] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 406.

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stitution incline either towards the despotism of the principal citizens, or towards that of the multitude.

It will therefore be necessary to distinguish several species of aristocracies, some approaching more or less to the perfection of which that form of government is capable, and others more or less tending to the oligarchy, which is its corruption.

The true aristocracy, therefore, will be that in which the authority is found in the hands of a certain number of enlightened and virtuous magistrates.[z] By virtue I understand political virtue, which is no other than the love of the public good, or of the country.[a] As all honours should be bestowed on this virtue, it must become the principle of this form of government.[b]

To secure such a constitution, it will be necessary to temper it in such a manner that the principal citizens may find in it the advantages of the oligarchy, and the common people those of the democracy.[c] Two laws will contribute to produce both these effects; one of which, derived from the principle of this government, shall confer the supreme magistracies on personal qualities, without regard to fortune;[d] and the other prevent the magistrates from enriching themselves by their employments, by obliging them to render an account to the public of the administration of the finances.[e] By the former

[z] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 7. p. 371; c. 15. p. 382. [a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 371. [b] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 372. [c] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 396. [d] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 373. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 399.

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of these laws, all the citizens may aspire to the principal dignities of the state, and the latter will induce the lower classes of the people to renounce a right which they will only value because they believe it profitable.[f]

As it will be to be feared that, at length, even virtue itself, invested with sovereign authority, will be enfeebled, or excite jealousy, care has been taken, in many aristocracies, to limit the power of the magistrates, and to provide that it shall pass into other hands every six months.[g]

Though it may be of importance that the judges of certain tribunals should be chosen from the class of the most distinguished citizens, it will at least be necessary that there should be other tribunals, the judges of which shall be taken from all ranks of the people.[h]

It appertains to this form of government alone to institute magistrates who may superintend the education of the children and the conduct of the women. Such a censorship would be ineffectual in a democracy or an oligarchy: in the former, because the multitude would lay claim to an excess of liberty; and in the latter, because the ruling citizens would be the first to give the example of corruption and impunity.[i]

A system of government, in which the worthy man will never be distinct from the citizen,[k] no where

[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 399.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 398.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 16. p. 385.
[i] Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 383.
[k] Id. ibid. c. 7. p. 371.

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subsists. Were we to attempt to analyse it, other laws and other regulations would be necessary. Let us content ourselves, in order to form a judgment of the different aristocracies, to ascend to their principle, for on that especially depends the excellence of a government. The principle of the pure aristocracy will be political virtue, or the love of public good. If we find in any subsisting aristocracy that this love has a greater or less influence on the choice of magistrates, we may thence conclude that the constitution is more or less advantageous. Hence is it that the government of Lacedæmon approaches nearer to the true aristocracy than that of Carthage, though there is in other respects a great conformity between them.[l] At Lacedæmon, the magistrate who is chosen must be animated by the love of his country, and disposed to favour the people; at Carthage, he must besides enjoy an easy fortune,[m] on which account the latter government inclines more towards an oligarchy.

The constitution is in danger, in an aristocracy, when the interests of the principal citizens are not sufficiently well connected with those of the common people to prevent each of these classes from desiring to seize exclusively on the sovereign authority;[n] when the laws permit all the riches of the state to pass insensibly into the hands of some individuals; when the first innovations by which the constitution is

[l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 334. [m] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 7. p. 371. [n] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 396.

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attacked are connived at;[o] and when the magistrates, through jealousy or negligence, persecute illustrious citizens, or exclude them from the magistracy, or suffer them to become sufficiently powerful to enslave their country.[p]

The imperfect aristocracy has in so many respects a relation to the oligarchy, that we must necessarily consider them together when we wish to explain the causes by which they may each be maintained or destroyed.

In the oligarchy, the supreme authority is in the hands of a small number of rich persons.[q] As it is essential to this government that the principal offices of magistracy should be elective,[r] and that the conferring of them should be regulated by the census, that is the fortune of individuals, riches must, in such a state, be preferred to every thing else, and produce a very great inequality among the citizens.[s] The desire therefore of acquiring wealth is the principle of such a government.[t]

A number of cities have of themselves chosen this form of government. The Lacedæmonians have endeavoured to introduce it among other states, with the same zeal as the Athenians have laboured to establish among them the democracy;[u] but it is every where diversified according to the nature of the

[o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 397. [p] Id. ibid. p. 396. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 346; lib. 4. c. 4. p. 366; c. 15. p. 382. [r] Id. ibid. p. 384. Id. de Rep. p. 614. [s] Id. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 385. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 372. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 397.

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census, or property which a citizen is required to possess to be admitted to the principal offices; according to the different modes in which those offices are conferred; and according as the power of the magistrate is more or less restrained. In every such government, besides, the few citizens who govern use every endeavour to maintain their authority against the many who obey.[x]

The means employed to this end, in several states, is to grant to all the citizens the right of attending at the general assemblies of the nation, to permit them to fill the offices of magistracy, give their votes in the tribunals of justice, keep arms in their houses, and increase their bodily strength by the exercises of the gymnasium.[y] But no punishment is denounced against the poor who neglect these advantages, while the rich who omit them are subjected to a fine.[z] The indulgence shown to the former, and which is apparently founded on the multiplicity of their labours and necessities, removes them from public business, and accustoms them to consider the deliberations on the affairs of the state, the care of administering justice, and the other branches of government, as a heavy burthen which the rich alone are able and ought to support.

To constitute the best form of the oligarchy, it is necessary that the property required to be possessed by the citizens accounted of the first class should not be too great; for the more numerous this class is,

[x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 369. [y] Id. ibid. c. 13. p. 378. [z] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 373.

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with more reason may it be presumed that the laws govern the state and not individuals.[a]

Several offices of magistracy should not be held at the same time by persons of the same family, lest such a family should become too powerful. In some cities the son is excluded by his father, and the brother by his elder brother.[b]

To prevent property from being too unequally distributed, no person should be allowed to dispose of his possessions to the prejudice of his lawful heirs; nor, on the other hand, ought two inheritances to be permitted to accumulate in one person.[c]

The common people should be under the immediate protection of the government, and should be more favoured than the rich in prosecutions for injuries done to them; nor should any law or any influence be an impediment to their acquiring subsistence or affluence. Little jealous of those dignities which only confer the honour of rendering service to the country, they will with pleasure see them conferred on others, if they are not deprived of the fruits of their labours.[d]

To attach them still more to the government, a certain number of inferior lucrative employments should be given to them;[e] and they should be even induced to hope that, by merit, they might be raised to some important offices, as is practised at Marseilles.[f]

[a] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 371. [b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 393. [c] Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 400. [d] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 400. [e] Id. de Rhet. t. ii. p. 614. [e] Id. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 6. p. 420. [f] Id. ibid. c. 7. p. 421.

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The law which, in many oligarchies, forbids the magistrates to engage in commerce,[g] produces two excellent effects; it prevents them from sacrificing to their interest the time which they owe to the state, and from exercising a monopoly which would ruin the other traders.*

When the magistrates rival each other in expending a part of their property for the embellishment of the capital, and in giving shows and public entertainments, such an emulation is advantageous to the treasury of the state. It reduces within just bounds the excessive riches of some individuals; the people easily pardon an authority which manifests itself by similar benefits, and are less attentive to the splendor of dignities than to the heavy duties annexed to them, and the real advantages which they themselves derive from them.[h]

But when the property which fixes the class of the citizens who are to be permitted to share in the government is rated too high, the number of persons in this class becomes too small; and presently those who, by their intrigues or their talents, have placed themselves at the head of affairs, will endeavour to maintain their power by the same means; they will insensibly extend their privileges, assume the right of choosing their associates, or leaving their places to their children;[i] and at length proceed to abolish all

[g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 12. p. 412; c. 8. p. 399. * At Venice, trade is forbidden the nobles. (Amelot. Hist. du Gouv. de Ven. p. 24. Esprit. des Lois, liv. 5. c. 8.) [h] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 241. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 380.

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legal forms, and substitute with impunity their will for the laws. The government will then have arrived at the last degree of corruption, and an oligarchy will be established within an oligarchy, as has happened in the city of Elis.[k] *

The tyranny of a small number of citizens will not subsist longer than that of an individual,[l] but must be enfeebled by the excess of its power. The rich, who are excluded from the government, will join the multitude to effect its destruction. In this manner, at Cnidus, was the oligarchy suddenly changed into a democracy.[m]

The same revolution may be expected when the class of rich citizens have closely united to treat all the others as slaves.[n] In some places, they have even dared to take the following equally absurd and inhuman oath: "I will do to the multitude all the mischief in my power."[o] Yet, as the people are alike dangerous, whether they crouch to others, or others crouch to them, they ought not to possess exclusively the right of judging, or conferring all the offices of magistracy; for then the class of rich citizens being reduced meanly to beg their suffrages, they would soon perceive that it is as easy for them to retain as to dispose of the sovereign authority.[p]

The manners of a people may render a government popular which is not so, or substitute the

[k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 394. * See Chap. XXXVIII. Vol. III. [l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 12. p. 411. [m] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 393. [n] Id. ibid. p. 395. [o] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 401. [p] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 394.

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oligarchy for the democracy.[q] Though these changes set the government in opposition to the constitution, they may not be dangerous, because they are gradually effected, and with the consent of all orders of the state. But nothing is so essential as early to resist the innovations which violently attack the constitution; and, in fact, in a government which proposes to maintain a kind of equilibrium between the propensities of two powerful classes of citizens, the least advantage gained over the established laws prepares the way for its ruin. At Thurium the law did not permit any military employment to be held a second time till after an interval of five years; but some young persons, secure of the confidence of the troops, and the suffrages of the people, procured the law to be repealed, in despite of all the opposition of the magistrates, and soon after, by still bolder enterprises, changed the wise and moderate government of that state into the most dreadful tyranny.[r]

Liberty, say the fanatic favourers of the popular power, can only be found in a democracy:[s] it is the principle of that government; it infuses into each citizen the will to obey and the ability to command; it renders him master of himself, the equal of others, and valuable to the state of which he makes a part.

It is therefore essential to this government that all the offices of magistracy, or at least the greater part, should be conferred by lot on each individual;[t]

[q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 370. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 397. [s] Id. ibid. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 414. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 373.

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that, excepting military employments, scarcely any offices be conferred on the same person who has before filled them; that all the citizens be alternately distributed in the courts of justice; that a senate be instituted to prepare those affairs which are finally to be determined on in the national and sovereign assembly, at which all the citizens may be present; and that a certain premium be paid to those who assiduously attend at this assembly, as also in the senate and the tribunals of justice.[u]

This form of government is subject to the same revolutions as the aristocracy. It is attempered in those states where, to restrain an ignorant and restless populace, a moderate property is required to be possessed by those who share in the administration of affairs;[x] in those where, by wise regulations, the principal class of citizens are not the victims of the hatred and jealousy of the lower orders;[y] and every where, in a word, where, in the midst of the most tumultuous commotions, the laws have sufficient power to enforce their authority.[z] But it becomes tyrannical[a] wherever the poorer citizens have too great an influence in public deliberations.

Several causes have bestowed on them this excess of power: the first is the suppression of the census, according to which the distribution of offices ought to be regulated;[b] in consequence of which the meanest

[u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 380; lib. 6. c. 2. p. 414.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 368; c. 9. p. 373; lib. 6. c. 2. p. 414.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 401; lib. 6. c. 5. p. 419. [z] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 368. [a] Id. ibid. p. 405. [b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 393.

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citizens possess the right of giving their voice in public affairs: the second is the premium granted to the poor and refused to the rich, when they give their suffrages either in the general assemblies or the tribunals of justice,[c] and which is too small to induce the latter to be assiduous in their attendance, though it is sufficient to indemnify the former for the interruption of their labours; and hence that multitude of artisans and workmen who imperiously raise their voices in those august places where the interests of the republic are discussed: the third is the power which the state orators have acquired over the multitude.

Formerly this same multitude blindly followed the soldiery, who more than once have abused its confidence to reduce it to slavery:[d] and as its destiny is eternally to be held in subjection, there have arisen in these modern times, ambitious men who employ their talents to flatter its passions and its vices, to intoxicate it with the opinion of its power and glory, to excite its hatred against the rich, its contempt for law and order, and its love of independence. Their triumph is that of eloquence, which seems only to be brought to perfection in our time,[e] to introduce despotism into the bosom of liberty itself. The republics which are wisely governed do not suffer these dangerous men to lead them; but wherever they acquire influence, the government speedily arrives at

[c] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 13. p. 378. [d] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 392. [e] Id. ibid. p. 392.

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the highest degree of its corruption, and the peuple contract the vices and the ferocity of tyrants.[f]

Almost all our governments, under whatever form they may be established, contain within themselves many seeds of destruction. As the greater part of the Grecian republics are confined within the narrow limits of a city, or a district, the divisions of individuals, which become the divisions of the state, the misfortunes of a war which seems to leave no resource, the inveterate and perpetually-renewed jealousy of the different classes of citizens, or a rapid succession of unforeseen events, may in a moment shake to the foundations or overturn the constitution. We have seen the democracy abolished in the city of Thebes by the loss of a battle,[g] and in those of Heraclea, Cumæ, and Megara, by the return of some principal citizens whom the people had proscribed to enrich the public treasury with their spoils.[h] We have seen the form of government changed at Syracuse by a love intrigue;[i] in the city of Eretria, by an insult offered to an individual;[k] at Epidaurus, by a fine imposed on another individual:[l] and how many seditions have there been which have not originated from more important causes, and which gradually spreading, have at last occasioned the most destructive wars!

While these calamities afflict the greater part of Greece, three nations, the Cretans, the Lacedæmo-

[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 369. [g] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 388. [h] Id. ibid. c. 5. p. 392. [i] Id. ibid. c. 4. p. 390. [k] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 395. [l] Id. ibid. c. 4. p. 391.

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nians, and the Carthagenians, have enjoyed in peace for many centuries, a government which differs from all the others, though it unites their advantages. The Cretans, in the most early times, conceived the idea of limiting the power of the highest class of citizens by that of the people;[m] and the Lacedæmonians and Carthaginians, doubtless from their example, that of associating the regal power with the aristocracy and democracy.[n]

Aristotle here succinctly explains the systems adopted in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and at Carthage. I shall state what he thinks of the latter, adding a few slight strokes to his sketch.

At Carthage, the sovereign power is divided between two kings,* a senate, and the assembly of the people.[o]

The two kings are not taken from two single families, as at Lacedæmon; but they are elected[p] annually, sometimes from one family and sometimes from another. It is required, that they should be persons of birth, property, and virtue.[q]

The senate is very numerous. It is the office of the kings to convene it:[r] they preside and deliberate in it on war and peace, and the most important affairs of the state.[s] A body of magistrates, to the number

[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 332. [n] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 328; c. 11. p. 334. * The Latin writers call these two supreme magistrates *Suffetes*, which is their true name; the Greek authors call them kings. [o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 334. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 493. [p] Nep. in Hannib. c. 7. [q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 334. [r] Liv. lib. 30. c. 7. [s] Polyb. lib. 1. p. 33; lib. 3. p. 175. et 187.

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of a hundred and four, are appointed to maintain in it the interests of the people.[t] The question under discussion may not be referred to the assembly of the nation, if opinions are unanimous; but it must if they are not.

In the general assembly, the kings and senators explain the reasons which have united or divided the suffrages. The meanest citizen may rise to oppose the decree, or the different opinions by which it may have been prevented passing. The people determine in the last instant.[u]

All the offices of the magistracy, that of the kings, and those of the senators, the judges, and the strategi, or governors of provinces, are conferred by the way of election, and restrained within bounds prescribed by the laws. The authority of the general of the army alone knows no limits;[x] he is absolute, when at the head of his troops; but, on his return, must render an account of his conduct before a tribunal composed of a hundred senators, who examine and judge with extreme severity.[y]

By the prudent distribution and wise exercise of these different powers, a numerous, powerful, and active people, no less jealous of their liberty than proud of their opulence, have always been able to defeat every attempt to enslave them, and, for a long series of years, enjoyed a tranquillity only disturbed by some transient storms, but which, how-

[t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 334. [u] Id. ibid. [x] Isocr. in Nicocl. t. i. p. 96. Ubbo Em. in Rep. Carthag. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 753. Justin. lib. 19. c. 2.

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ever, have not been able to destroy the primitive constitution.[z]

Yet, notwithstanding its excellence, this constitution has its defects. It is one, that the union of several offices of magistracy in the same person should be considered as an honourable distinction,[a]* because it is then supposed more advantageous to multiply duties than to discharge them, and the people become accustomed to believe, that to obtain is to merit places. It is likewise a defect, that fortune should be considered as much as virtue in the choice of magistrates.[b] Whenever, in a state, money becomes the means of promotion to honours, every other is soon neglected; the sole ambition of the citizen is to accumulate riches, and the government strongly inclines towards the oligarchy.[c]

To preserve the equilibrium, the Carthaginians have imagined that it was necessary to grant some advantages to the people, and, at intervals to send the principal persons of that class to certain cities, with commissions which may enable them to acquire riches. This expedient has hitherto preserved the republic; but, as it has no immediate connexion with the legislation, and contains within itself a secret vice, its success ought only to be attributed to chance: and if ever the people, becoming too rich and too

[z] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 334. [a] Id. ibid. p. 335.

* At Venice, according to Amelot, the nobles are not permitted to hold, at the same time, several magistracies, however inconsiderable they may be. (Hist. du Gouvern. de Venise, p. 25.)

[b] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 334. [c] Id. ibid. p. 335.

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powerful, should separate their interests from those of the other citizens, the subsisting laws will not be sufficient to curb their claims, and the constitution will be destroyed.[d]*

From what has been said, it will be easy to discover the object which the supreme magistrate ought especially to have in view in the exercise of his power, or, which is the same thing, what is, in each constitution, the principle of government. In a monarchy, it is what is honourable and noble; for the prince ought to aspire to render his reign glorious, and to seek glory only by honourable means.[e] In a tyranny, it is the safety of the tyrant; for he maintains himself on the throne by the terror which he inspires.[f] In an aristocracy, it is virtue; for the leaders of the state can only distinguish themselves by the love of their country.[g] In an oligarchy, it is riches; for those who share in the government of the state are chosen from among the rich.[h] In a democracy, it is the liberty of each individual citizen;[i] but this principle degenerates almost every where into licentiousness, and can only subsist in the go-

[d] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 335. * It was not long before the prediction of Aristotle was fulfilled. In the time of the second Punic war, about a hundred years after that philosopher, the republic of Carthage verged towards its ruin; and Polybius considers the authority which the people had usurped as the principal cause of its decline. (Polyb. lib. 9. p. 493.) [e] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 403. [f] Id. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 8. t. ii. p. 530. [g] Id. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 372. [h] Id. ibid. [i] Id. ibid.

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vernment of which a succinct idea is given in the second part of this extract.

SECOND PART.

On the best of Constitutions.

If I were to give instructions to the leader of a colony, I would ascend to first principles.

Every society is an aggregate of families who, in uniting, have no other end but to labour for their common happiness.[k] If they are not sufficiently numerous, how shall it be possible to defend them against external attacks? and if their number be too great, how shall they be restrained by laws which may ensure their tranquillity? Aim not to found an empire, but a city, less powerful from the multitude of its inhabitants than from the qualities of its citizens. While law and order can act on every part of this body, think not of reducing its magnitude; but the moment those who obey are no longer under the eyes of their rulers, be assured that the government has lost a part of its influence, and the state a part of its strength.[l]

Let your capital, situated near the sea,[m] be neither too large nor too small; and let a healthy situation, a pure air, and salubrious waters, contribute in concert to the preservation of the inhabitants.[n] Let the

[k] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 296; lib. 3. c. 9. p. 349.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 7. c. 4. p. 430. [m] Id. Ibid. c. 5. p. 431; ibid. c. 6.
[n] Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 438.

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territory around it suffice for its wants, and be equally difficult of access to the enemy, and favourable to the communication of your own troops.[o] Let it be commanded by a citadel, if the monarchical government be preferred; let different fortified posts protect it from the first fury of the populace, if the aristocracy be made choice of; and let it have no other defence than its ramparts, if a democracy be established.[p] Let the walls be strong, and capable of resisting the new machines which have of late years been employed in sieges. Let the streets be some broad and straight, and others narrow and winding; the former will contribute to its embellishment, and the latter be of use in its defence in case of a surprise.[q]

Construct at some distance, a harbour joined to the city by long walls, as is practised in several places in Greece. During war, it will facilitate your receiving succour from your allies; and, during peace, you may keep there that multitude of seamen, foreigners, or newly-enfranchised citizens, whose licentiousness and greediness of gain might corrupt the manners of the people, should you receive them into the city. But let your commerce be confined to the exchange of the superfluities which your territory produces for the necessaries which it denies to you; and let your navy be only so far attended to as it may render you feared or courted by the neighbouring nations.[r]

[o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 431. [p] Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 438. [q] Id. ibid. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 7. c. 6. p. 431.

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Let us suppose the colony established, and that it is required to frame laws for its government; fundamental ones will be necessary to form its constitution, and civil to insure its tranquillity.

You will inform yourself of the different forms of government which have been adopted by our legislators, or imagined by our philosophers. Some of these systems are too imperfect, and others require too great perfection. Have the courage to compare the principles of the former with their effects, and the still greater courage to resist the allurements of the latter. If by the force of your genius you are able to conceive the plan of a faultless constitution, a superior reason should convince you that such a plan is not capable of being carried into execution, or, if by chance it were, that it cannot perhaps be suitable to all states.[s]

The best government for a people is that which is adapted to its character, its interests, the climate which it inhabits, and a multitude of circumstances that are peculiar to it.

Nature has distinguished, by striking and varied features, the societies scattered over our globe.[t] Those of the north of Europe possess courage, but little knowledge or industry; they must therefore be free, indocile to the yoke of the laws, and incapable to govern the neighbouring nations. The people of Asia possess all the talents of the mind, and all the

[s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 363. [t] Id. ibid. lib. 7. c. 7. p. 433. Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 435. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1320.

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resources of arts: but their extreme inertness and pusillanimity condemn them to servitude. The Greeks, placed between these extremes, and enriched with all the advantages of which they can boast, so unite courage and abilities, the love of the laws and of liberty, that they might be able to conquer and govern the world. And by what a multitude of minute shades has it pleased nature to diversify these principal characters in the same country! Among the nations of Greece some possess greater intellectual powers, and others more bravery; there are also some among whom these splendid qualities are found in a just equilibrium.[u]

By studying the men of whom he has the conduct, a legislator may discover whether they have received from nature, or whether his institutions can bestow on them, sufficient understanding to feel the value of virtue, and sufficient strength and ardour of mind to prefer it to every other object. He must reflect, examine, and doubt: a local circumstance may sometimes alone suffice to remove his uncertainty. If, for example, the soil which his colony is to occupy be susceptible of great cultivation, and insurmountable obstacles will not suffer him to propose any other constitution, let him not hesitate to establish the popular government.[x] A people addicted to agriculture are better than any other. They will never abandon the labours which require their presence, to crowd into the forum and occupy

[u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 7. p. 433. [x] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 370; lib. 6. c. 4. p. 416.

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themselves with those dissensions which idleness foments, and dispute those honours of which they are not ambitious.[y] The magistrates, more respected, will not be exposed to the caprices of a multitude of artisans and workmen equally insolent and insatiable.

On the other side, the oligarchy naturally establishes itself in those places where it is necessary and possible to maintain a numerous cavalry. As that will then constitute the principal strength of the state, a great number of the citizens must be able to keep horses, and support the expense which their profession will require; and thus the party of the rich will obtain an authority over the poor.[z]

Before we proceed further, let us examine what are the rights, and what ought to be the dispositions, of the citizen.

In certain places, to be a citizen, it suffices to be born of a father and mother who were citizens; in others, a great number of degrees are required in the descent: but it thence follows, that the first who have assumed that privilege did not rightfully possess it, and how then could they transmit it to their children?[a]

It was not the inclosure of a city or a state which bestows this privilege on him who inhabits it: for if so, it might be claimed by the slave as well as by the freeman.[b] If the slave cannot be a citizen, neither can those who are in the service of others,

[y] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 4. p. 417. [z] Id. ibid. c. 7. p. 420.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 340. [b] Id. ibid. c. 1.

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or who, by exercising the mechanic arts, immediately depend on the favours of the public.[c] I know that in most republics, and especially in the extreme democracy, they are considered as such; but in a well-constituted state, so noble a privilege ought not to be granted to them.

Who is then the real citizen? He who, free from every other care, dedicates himself solely to the service of his country, and may participate in its offices, dignities, and honours;[d] in a word, in the sovereign authority.

It hence follows, that this name agrees but imperfectly to children or decrepit old men, and cannot appertain to artisans, labourers, and freedmen.[e] It also follows, that there are no citizens but in a republic;[f] though they there share this privilege with persons to whom, according to our principles, it ought to be denied.

In the city which you shall found, every occupation that may divert the attention which is exclusively due to the interests of the country shall be forbidden to the citizen; and this title shall only be given to those who in their youth shall bear arms in defence of the state, and who in a more advanced age shall instruct it by their knowledge and experience.[g]

Thus shall your citizens truly make a part of the city: their essential prerogative shall be, to be ad-

[c] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 5. p. 343. [d] Id. ibid. c. 1. p. 338 et 339; c. 4. p. 341. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 1 et 5; lib. 7. c. 9. p. 435. [f] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 339. [g] Id. ibid. lib. 7. c. 9. p. 435.

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mitted to offices of magistracy, to judge in the affairs of individuals, and to vote in the senate or the general assembly;[h] this they shall possess by a fundamental law, because the law is a contract[i] which secures the rights of the citizens. The first of their duties shall be, to place themselves in a situation to command and to obey;[k] and they shall fulfil it in virtue of their institution, because that alone can inspire them with the virtues of the citizen, or the love of their country.

These reflections will enable us to discover that species of equality which the legislator should establish in a city.

None is admitted in an oligarchy: it is supposed, on the contrary, that the difference of fortunes must produce a similar difference in the condition of the citizens: and that consequently preference and distinctions ought only to be granted to riches.[l] In a democracy, the citizens believe themselves all equal, because they are all free; but as they have only a false idea of liberty, the equality which they affect destroys all subordination. Hence the seditions which incessantly ferment in the former of these governments, because in it the multitude consider inequality as an injustice;[m] and in the latter, because the rich are hurt by an equality which mortifies them.

Among the advantages which establish or destroy the equality of the citizens, there are three which merit some consideration: liberty, virtue, and riches.

[h] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 339. [i] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 348. [k] Id. ibid. c. 4. p. 342. [l] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 348; lib. 5. c. 1. p. 385. [m] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 389.

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I shall not speak of nobility, because it is included in this general division, since it is only the antiquity of riches or virtue in a family.[n]

Nothing is so opposite to licentiousness as liberty. In all governments individuals are and ought to be in subjection; with this difference, however, that in some places they are merely the slaves of men, and in others only the subjects of the laws. In fact, liberty does not consist in doing whatever we please, as is maintained in certain democracies,[o] but in only doing what is enjoined by the laws, which secure the independence of each individual; and under this point of view all the citizens may enjoy equal liberty.

I shall not be more diffuse on the article of virtue. As our citizens shall participate in the sovereign authority, they shall be all equally interested to maintain it, and shall deeply imbibe the same love for their country. I shall add, that they will be more or less free in proportion as they shall be more or less virtuous.

As to riches, the greater part of philosophers have not been able to guard against a too natural illusion: they have fixed their attention on the abuse which most offends against their inclinations or their interest, and believed that, by rooting it out, the state would continue its course of itself. Ancient legislators had judged it necessary, in the commencement of a reformation, to divide property equally among all the citizens, and hence some modern legislators, and among others

[n] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 373. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 402.

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Phaleas of Chalcedon, have proposed the constant equality of fortunes for the basis of their systems. Some have suggested that the rich should be permitted to marry only with the poor, and that portions should be given with the daughters of the former, but none with those of the latter.—Others have wished that it should not be permitted to any one to increase his possessions beyond a certain value prescribed by the laws. But in limiting the property of each family, it would likewise be necessary to limit the number of children which shall be born in it.[p] It is not by prohibitive laws that the fortunes of individuals can be held in a kind of equilibrium: the spirit of disinterestedness must as much as possible be introduced among them, and such regulations adopted, that the good citizens may not wish to increase their possessions, and the bad not be able.[q]

Thus a difference in riches may have place among your citizens; but as this difference can occasion none in the distribution of employments and honours, it will not destroy that equality which ought to subsist among them. They shall be equal, because they shall only be subject to the laws; and they shall be equally occupied in the glorious employment of contributing to the tranquillity and happiness of their country.[r]

You already perceive, that the government of which I wish to give you an idea will approach a democracy: but it will also participate of the oligarchy; for it will be a mixed government, so combined that

[p] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 322. [q] Id. ibid. p. 323 et 324. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 341; c. 9. p. 349.

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it will be difficult to say by what name it ought to be called; and in which, nevertheless, the partisans of the democracy and those of the oligarchy will each find the advantages of the constitution they prefer, without the inconveniences of those which they reject.[s]

This happy intermixture will be especially sensible in the distribution of the three powers which constitute a republican state. The first, which is the legislative, shall reside in the general assembly of the nation; the second, or the executive, shall appertain to the magistrates; the third, which is the judicial power, shall be confided to the tribunals of justice.[t]

1st. On all questions which relate to peace, war, alliances, the laws, the choice of magistrates, the punishment of crimes against the state, or the rendering of accounts by those who have filled offices of importance, reference shall be made to the judgment of the people, who are rarely deceived when not disturbed and inflamed by factions. When these have no influence, their votes are free and not contaminated by vile interest; for it is impossible to corrupt a whole people: they are enlightened; for the meanest citizens have a singular discernment in discovering men distinguished for their abilities and their virtues, and a remarkable facility in forming, combining, and even rectifying their judgments.[u]

The decrees of the general assembly shall not be

[s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 373. [t] Id. ibid. c. 14. p. 379. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 350 et 351; c. 15. p. 356. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 381.

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subject to a revision, unless in the case of the condemnation of a criminal. In this instance, if the assembly acquit the accused, the cause shall be finally determined; but if it condemn him, it shall be necessary for the sentence to be confirmed, or perhaps annulled, by one of the tribunals of justice.[x]

To remove from the general assembly persons of the dregs of the people, who, though they possess no property, nor exercise any mechanical profession, have yet a right to be present in it, in quality of citizens, recourse shall be had to the census, or the known state of the possessions of individuals. In an oligarchy, the census is so high, that only the most opulent citizens are admitted to the assembly of the nation: in certain democracies it does not exist; and in others, is so low as scarcely to exclude any one. You will institute a census, by virtue of which the most numerous and most intelligent and virtuous part of the citizens shall have a right to vote in the public deliberations.[y]

And as the census is not a fixed measure; as it varies according to the price of commodities; and as these variations have been frequently sufficient to change the nature of the government; you shall be careful to renew it from time to time, according to occurrences, to the property of individuals, and to the object which you have in view.[z]

2d. The decrees of the general assembly should

[x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 381. [y] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 373.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 395; c. 8. p. 398.

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be carried into execution by magistrates, the choice, number, functions, and duration of the office of whom ought to be adapted to the extent of the republic, as well as to the form of the government.

Here, as in almost every part of the subject we treat, a multitude of questions[a] suggest themselves, which we shall pass over in silence to proceed to two important points,—I mean the choice and number of these magistrates. It is essential to the oligarchy, that they should be chosen relatively to the census; and to the democracy, that they should be appointed by lot, without any regard to property.[b] You will borrow from the former the mode of election, because it is the most proper to bestow on the state virtuous and enlightened magistrates; and from the example of the latter you will not be restricted by the census, because you will not fear that obscure persons, who are incapable of discharging the duties of the offices of magistracy, should be raised to such dignities. As to the number of magistrates, it will be better to multiply places than to lay too great a burthen on each department.[c]

3d. The same intermixture of forms shall be observed in the regulations relative to the tribunals of justice. In the oligarchical government, a fine is imposed on the rich who do not acquit themselves of their judicial functions, and no salary appointed

[a] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 381. [b] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 373. [c] Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 382.

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for the poor who discharge them. The contrary practice prevails in democracies. You shall induce both these classes of judges to be assiduous, by condemning the former to a pecuniary penalty when they shall absent themselves, and granting a premium for attendance to the latter.[d]

After having interested these two orders of citizens in the good of the state, it will be of importance to stifle in their hearts that odious rivalry which has been the destruction of the greater part of the republics of Greece; and this again is one of the points of greatest consequence in our system of legislation.

Endeavour not to reconcile claims which the ambition and vices of the two parties will only eternise: the single means to destroy them is to favour in preference the middle estate,* and to render it as powerful as possible.[e] Among this class of citizens you will find the purest morals, and greatest regard to propriety of manners. Contented with their lot, they neither experience themselves, nor cause others to feel, that contemptuous pride which riches inspire, nor the low envy which is the offspring of want. Great cities, in which this class is the most numerous, must be less subject to seditions than small ones; and the democracy,

[d] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 373. * By this middle estate, Aristotle means those who enjoy a moderate fortune. Compare what he says concerning it with the beginning of the life of Solon, by Plutarch. [e] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 11. p. 376. Eurip. in Supplic. v. 238.

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in which it is honoured, more durable than the oligarchy, which pays it but little respect.[f]

Let the principal part of your colonists be of this respectable order; let your laws render them capable of receiving every honour and distinction; let wise institutions continually preserve among them the spirit and the love of mediocrity, and suffer them to have the greatest weight in the assembly. Their preponderance will secure the state from the designing despotism of the rich, who are always unwilling to obey, and the blind despotism of the poor, who are ever incapable to command; and hence it will result, that the greater part of the nation, strongly attached to the government, will exert all its efforts to ensure its duration, which is the first element and best proof of a good constitution.[g]

In every republic a citizen becomes culpable when he becomes too powerful. If your laws are unable to prevent individuals from acquiring too great riches, and collecting around them such a number of partisans as may render them formidable, recourse shall be had to the ostracism, and they shall be banished for a certain number of years.

The ostracism is a violent remedy: it is perhaps unjust, and too often employed to gratify personal vengeance; but it is supported by great examples and authorities, and in the case specified, is the only resource which can save the state. If, nevertheless,

[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 11. p. 376.

[g] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 377; lib. 5. c. 9. p. 400.

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a man should arise, who, by the sublimity of his virtues alone, shall attract all hearts to himself, I will grant that, conformably to true principles, he ought, instead of being proscribed, to be placed on the throne.[h]

We have already said, that your citizens shall be either young men, who shall serve their country by their valour; or aged men, who, after having served it, shall direct it by their counsels. From this latter class shall you choose the priests; for it cannot be decent, that the homage of a free people should be offered to the gods by hands accustomed to mechanic and servile labour.[i]

Public repasts shall be instituted; for nothing contributes more to the maintenance of union.[k]

All the lands of the state shall be divided into two portions; the one destined to supply the necessities of the state, and the other those of individuals: the former shall be consecrated to the maintenance of religious worship, and the public repasts; and the latter shall be only possessed by those whom I have distinguished by the name of citizens. Both shall be cultivated by slaves brought from different nations.[l]

After having regulated the form of government, you shall prepare a body of civil laws, all of which shall have a proper relation to the fundamental, and tend to bind and strengthen them.

One of the most essential will be that which

[h] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 13. p. 354; c. 17. p. 361. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 7. c. 9. p. 436. [k] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 436. [l] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 437.

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regards marriages. The couples who unite shall not be of an age too disproportionate,[m] as nothing can more certainly sow the seeds of dissension and disgust. They shall neither be too young nor too old, as nothing contributes more than such unions to the degeneracy of the human race. Let the girls marry at about the age of eighteen, and the men at thirty-seven, or nearly that age;[n] let their marriage be celebrated about the time of the winter solstice;[o] * let them be permitted to expose their children, when they are born with too feeble a constitution, or other too manifest defects; they shall also be permitted to expose them, to prevent a too great excess of population. If this idea be repugnant to the character of the nation, fix at least the number of children in each family; and if the parents shall transgress the law, let it be ordained that the mother shall destroy the fruit of her body before it shall have received the principles of life and sensation. Severely proscribe adultery, and let the most rigorous punishments stamp ignominy on those who shall dishonour the marriage union.[p]

Aristotle afterwards enlarges on the manner in which the citizen should be educated. He takes him in the cradle, and follows him through the different

[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 16. p. 445. [n] Id. ibid. p. 446.
[o] Id. ibid. * M. Vargentin, in a memoir presented to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, in 1772, has shown, from observations made during the course of fourteen years, that more children are born in the month of September than in any other month of the year. (Gazette de France, de 28 Août 1772.)
[p] Aristot. ibid. p. 447.

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ages of life, the various employments of the republic, and his different relations with society. He treats of the knowledge with which his mind should be enlightened, and the virtues that should be instilled into his soul; and, insensibly unfolding to his eyes the chain of his duties, calls his attention, at the same time, to the laws which oblige him to fulfil them.*

I have now given some of the reflexions of Aristotle on the best form of government. I have above given a sketch of the republic of Plato† and of the constitutions of Lycurgus‡ and of Solon.§ Other writers, legislators, philosophers, orators, and poets, have published their ideas on this important subject; but it would be insufferably tedious to analyse their different systems, and that endless number of maxims or questions which they have advanced or discussed. We will therefore confine ourselves to the few principles which are common to them all; or which, from their singularity, merit to be selected.

Aristotle is not the only writer who has given us the eulogium of royalty. The greater part of philosophers have acknowledged the excellence of this government, which they have considered, some relatively to society, and others as it has relation to the general system of nature.

* This part of the work is now lost; but it is easy to judge, from the first chapters of the eighth book, of the manner in which Aristotle proceeded in the remainder of his treatise.
† See Chap. LIV. ‡ See Chap. XLV. § See Introduction, and Chap. XIV.

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The most excellent of constitutions, say the former, would be that in which the supreme authority, confided to a single person, should only be exercised according to laws wisely instituted;[q] in which the sovereign, raised above his subjects as much by his understanding and his virtues as by his power,[r] should be persuaded that he himself, like the law, only exists for the happiness of his people;[s] in which the government should inspire fear and respect, both at home and abroad, not only by the uniformity of its principles, the secrecy of its enterprises, and the promptness of their execution,[t] but still more by its integrity and good faith; for the word of the prince should be more to be relied on than the oath of other men.[u]

Every thing in nature, say the latter, points to unity. The universe is governed by the Supreme Being,[x] the celestial spheres by so many genii; and the kingdoms of the earth, in like manner, should be guided by the authority of single sovereigns, who may maintain in their respective states that harmony which reigns throughout all nature. But to discharge the duties of so exalted a station, they should reflect in themselves the virtues of that deity of whom they are the images,[y] and govern their subjects with the ten-

[q] Plut. in Polit. t. ii. p. 301 et 302. [r] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 56. [s] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 44. p. 314. [t] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321. Isocr. ad. Nicocl. t. i. p. 93. [u] Isocr. ibid. p. 63. [x] Ecphant. ap. Stob. Serm. 46. p. 333. [y] Id. ap. Stob. Serm. 16. p. 323 et 324. Diotog. ibid. p. 330.

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derness of a father, the careful vigilance of a pastor, and the impartial equity of the law.[z]

Such are, in part, the duties which the Greeks annex to the regal power; and, as they have almost every where seen princes depart from them, they only consider this government as the model which a legislator ought to propose to himself, to produce only one general will from all the wills of individuals.[a] If all the forms of government existed conformable to their true principles, said Plato, the monarchical should be preferred; but, since they are all corrupted, it is best to live under the democracy.[b]

What then is the constitution best adapted to a people extremely jealous of their liberty? The mixed government; that in which royalty, aristocracy, and democracy, are combined by laws which restore the balance of power whenever it inclines too much towards any one of these forms.[c] As this temperament may be effected in an infinite diversity of modes, hence results that endless variety which is found in the constitutions of nations and the opinions of philosophers.

The latter are much better agreed on the necessity of establishing good laws, on the obedience which they require, and the changes which they ought sometimes to undergo.

[z] Ecphant. ap. Stob. Serm. 16. p. 334. [a] Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 301. Hippod. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 251. [b] Plat. ibid. p. 303. [c] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 268. Hippod. ibid. p. 251. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 693. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 6. p. 321. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 373.

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As it is not given to any single mortal to maintain order by his changeable will alone, laws are necessary in a monarchy ;[d] for, without such a restraint, every government becomes tyrannical.

The expression, that the law is the soul of the state, presents a very just image; for, in fact, if the law be destroyed, the state becomes only a lifeless body.[e]

The laws ought to be clear, precise, relative to the climate,[f] and all favourable to virtue.[g] They should leave as few cases as possible to the decision of the judges.[h] They should be severe, but the judges should never be so ;[i] because it is better that the guilty should escape than the innocent be condemned: in the former case the judgment is an error, in the latter an impiety.[k]

We have seen states lose in inaction that superiority which they had acquired by victories. This proceeded from the defect of their laws, which had hardened them to endure the labours of war, but not armed them against the sweets of tranquillity. A legislator ought less to bestow his attention on a state of war, which should be transient, than on the virtues which may teach the peaceable citizen neither to fear war nor make an improper use of peace.[l]

[d] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 268. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 813. Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 276. Bias ap. Plut. in Sept. Sapient. Conviv. t. ii. p. 152. [e] Demosth. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 270. [f] Archyt. ibid. [g] Demosth. Epist. p. 198. Id. in Timocr. p. 784. Stob. p. 270. [h] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 513. [i] Isæus ap. Stob. Serm. 46. p. 237. [k] Antiph. ap. Stob. p. 308. [l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 14. p. 444; c. 15. p. 445.

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The multiplicity of laws in a state is a proof of its corruption and decline; and that from this reason, that the society would be most happy in which any laws whatever should be unnecessary.[m]

Some have wished that all laws should be prefaced by an explanation of their motives and spirit. Nothing, say they, can be more useful than to enlighten the obedience of the people, and to subject them by persuasion before they are intimidated by menaces.[n]

Others consider ignominy as the most effectual punishment. When crimes may be redeemed by money, men become accustomed to affix a great value to wealth, and to disregard guilt.[o]

The more laws are excellent, the more dangerous it is to shake off their yoke. It would be better for a state to have bad laws which should be obeyed, than good ones which should remain without effect.[p]

Nothing is so dangerous likewise as to make frequent changes in the laws. Among the Locrians,[q] he who advised to abrogate or alter any law, must make the proposal with a halter round his neck, and forfeit his life if his advice were disapproved.* Among the same Locrians it is not permitted to torture and elude the laws by forced interpretations. If they are equivocal, and one of the parties thinks himself aggrieved

[m] Arcesil. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 248. Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 331. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. c. 27. [n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 719. [o] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 269. [p] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 37. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 372. [q] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 280. Demosth. in Timoc. p. 794. * See note III. at the end of the volume.

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by the explanation given of them by the magistrate, he may cite him before a tribunal consisting of a thousand judges. Both must appear with a cord round their neck, and death must be the punishment of him whose interpretation is rejected.[r] Other legislators have all declared, that the laws ought not to be changed but with the utmost circumspection, and in cases of extreme necessity.

But what are the solid foundations of the tranquillity and happiness of states? Not the laws which regulate their constitution, or which increase their powers, but the institutions which form the citizens, and give activity to their minds; not the laws which dispense rewards and punishments, but the public voice when it makes an exact distribution of contempt and esteem.[s] Such is the unanimous decision of legislators and philosophers, of all the Greeks, and perhaps of all nations. When the nature, advantages, and inconveniences, of the different forms of government are carefully investigated, we shall find that the difference in the manners of a people is sufficient to destroy the best of constitutions, or to rectify the most defective.

The laws, impotent in themselves, borrow their powers solely from manners, which are as much above them as virtue is above probity. In consequence of the manners of a people is it that what is good and virtuous is preferred to what is only just,

[r] Polyb. lib. 12. p. 661. [s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 13. t. ii. p. 697. Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 331.

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and what is just to what is merely useful. They restrain the citizen by the fear of the public opinion, while the laws only terrify him by the dread of punishment.[t]

Under the empire of manners the minds of men will display elevation of sentiment, distrust of their own powers, and decency and simplicity in their actions. A certain modesty will penetrate them with a sacred reverence for the gods, the laws, the magistrates, the paternal power, the wisdom of aged persons,[u] and for themselves still more than for all the rest.[x]

Hence results in every government the indispensable necessity of attending to the education of children,[y] as a most essential object, and training them up in the spirit and love of the constitution, in the simplicity of ancient times, in a word, in the principles which ought ever after to regulate their virtues, their opinions, their sentiments, and their behaviour. All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depended on the education given to youth;[z] and from their reflexions we may lay it down as an evident principle, that education, the laws, and manners, ought never to contradict each other.[a] Another principle no less certain is, that in all states the manners of the people are conformable to those of their governors.[b]

[t] Hippod. ap. Stob. p. 249. [u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698 et 701. [x] Democr. ap. Stob. Serm. 44. p. 310. [y] Plut. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 2. Aristot. de Leg. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 449. [z] Diotogen. ap. Stob. p. 251. [a] Hippod. ibid. p. 249. [b] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 68. Æschin. in Tim. p. 290.

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Zaleucus and Charondas, not satisfied with directing to the maintenance of manners the greater part of the laws which they gave, the former to the Locrians of Italy,* and the latter to several states of Sicily, have placed, at the head of their respective codes,[c] a chain of maxims which may be considered as the foundations of morality. I shall here give some of them, more clearly to show in what point of view legislation was formerly considered.

All the citizens, says Zaleucus,[d] should first be firmly persuaded of the existence of the gods. The order and beauty of the universe must soon convince them, that it is not the effect of blind chance, nor the work of man. The gods are to be adored, because they are the authors of all real good. Every one, therefore, should prepare and purify his soul: for the Divine Being is not honoured by the worship of the wicked man, nor delighted with pompous sacrifices and magnificent festivals: his approbation can only be obtained by good works, by a virtue constant in its principles and its effects, and a firm resolution to prefer justice and poverty to injustice and ignominy.

If, among the inhabitants of this city, men, women, citizens, or sojourners, there should be found any who relish not these truths, and who are naturally inclined to evil, let them remember that nothing can

* According to Timæus, Zaleucus did not give laws to the Locrians (Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. iii. p. 141. Id. ad Attic. lib. 6. ep. 1. t. viii. p. 261); but he contradicted all antiquity.

[c] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 6. tom. iii. page 141.

[d] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 279; et ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 84.

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save the guilty mortal from the vengeance of the gods; and let them incessantly place before their eyes the final moment of their lives; that moment in which they will reflect with so much regret and remorse on the evil which they have done, and the good which they have neglected to do.

Every citizen, therefore, in all his actions, should continually have the hour of death present to his mind; and whenever the malevolent dæmon shall attempt to influence him to evil, let him fly to the temples, to the feet of the altars, to the sacred places, and implore the assistance of the gods. Let him likewise have recourse to wise and good men, who will support his weakness by a representation of the rewards destined to virtue, and the woes which are the consequence of injustice.

Reverence your parents, your laws, your magistrates. Love your country, and desire not to change it for another; for that would be the beginning of treason. Speak no evil of any one. The guardians of the laws should watch over and restrain offenders; but, before they punish them, they should endeavour to reclaim them by advice.

Let the magistrates, in their judgments, forget their individual connexions, and their private enmities. Slaves may be subjected by fear, but freemen ought only to obey justice.

In all your designs and actions, says Charondas,[e] begin by imploring the assistance of the gods, who are

[e] Charond. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 289.

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the authors of all things: to obtain it, abstain from evil; for there is no society between God and the unjust man.

Let the same affection reign between individual citizens and those who are at the head of the government, as between children and their parents.

Sacrifice your life for your country, and be persuaded that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy. Let the married pair mutually hold sacred the faith they have vowed to each other.

The dead are not to be honoured by tears and immoderate grief, but by the remembrance of their virtues, and the offerings annually made at their tombs.

Let young persons show a proper deference to the advice of the aged, who are attentive to deserve reverence by the regularity of their lives. If the latter divest themselves of modesty, they will introduce into the state the contempt of shame, and all its consequent vices.

Detest infamy and falsehood; love virtue; frequent the company of those who practise it; and aspire to the highest perfection, by becoming the truly good and virtuous man. Fly to the succour of the oppressed citizen; relieve the wretchedness of the poor, provided it be not the fruit of idleness. Despise him who renders himself the slave of his riches, and stigmatise with ignominy the citizen who erects for himself a more magnificent dwelling than the public edifices. Let your language be regulated by de-

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cency; restrain your anger, and utter not imprecations even against those who have done you an injury.

Let all the citizens continually have these precepts present to their memory; and, on the days of the festivals, let them be recited aloud during the public entertainments, that they may be still more deeply impressed on all minds.

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CHAPTER LXIII.

Dionysius, King of Syracuse, at Corinth.—Exploits of Timoleon.

On our return to Athens, after an absence of eleven years, we seemed, so to speak, to arrive there for the first time. Death had deprived us of many of our friends and acquaintances; whole families had disappeared, and others arisen in their place; we were received like strangers in houses where he had before been intimate; every where we found the same stage, but other actors.

The forum incessantly resounded with complaints against Philip, which were a subject of alarm to some, but heard with indifference by others.[m] Demosthenes had not long before accused Æschines of having taken bribes of Philip, when he was sent into Macedonia to conclude the late peace; and as Æschines had extolled the modesty of the ancient orators, who, when they harangued the people, avoided all extravagant gestures; No, no, exclaimed Demosthenes, it is not in the assembly of the people, but when we are sent on an embassy, that we ought to hide our hands under our clokes.[n] This stroke of pleasantry was received with applause; the accusation, however, had no success.

[m] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321 et 327. [n] Id. ibid. p. 332.

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We were for some time overwhelmed with questions concerning Egypt and Persia. I afterwards resumed my former researches. One day, as I crossed the forum, I saw a great number of inquirers after news, going and coming in great agitation, and seemingly unable sufficiently to express their surprise. I drew near to them, and inquired what had happened—I was answered, Dionysius is at Corinth. —What Dionysius?—The king of Syracuse, once so powerful and formidable. Timoleon has driven him from the throne, and obliged him to embark on board a galley, which has brought him to Corinth.[o] He has arrived* without escort, friends, or relations; he has lost every thing except the memory of what he was.

This news was soon after confirmed to me by Euryalus, whom I found at the house of Apollodorus. He was a Corinthian with whom I was intimate, and who had formerly had connexions with Dionysius. He was to return to Corinth some months after, and I resolved to accompany him, to contemplate at leisure one of the most singular phænomena of Fortune.

On our arrival in that city, we found at the door of a tavern a fat man,[p] in a mean dress, to whom the master of the house seemed to give, from pity, the wine that had been left in some bottles; some women of dissolute life attacked him with gross

[o] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242. Justin. lib. 21. c. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 464. * The year 343 before Christ. [p] Justin. lib. 21. c. 2.

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jokes, at which he laughed, and answered them in the same style; and his pleasantries diverted the populace who were gathered round him.[q]

Euryalus proposed to me, I know not under what pretext, to alight from our carriage, and not to leave this man. We followed him to a place where some women, who were to sing in the choruses at an approaching festival, were exercised previous to their appearance in public. He made them repeat their parts, directed them in the management of their voices, and disputed with them on the manner in which certain passages ought to be given.[r] He thence went to a perfumer's, where we unexpectedly saw the philosopher Diogenes and the musician Aristoxenus,* who had arrived at Corinth a few days before. The former, approaching the stranger, said to him: You do not deserve what has befallen you.—Do you then compassionate my misfortunes? replied the unhappy man. I thank you for your kindness. I compassionate thy misfortunes! replied Diogenes; thou art much mistaken, vile slave! thou oughtest to live and die like thy father, a prey to all the terrors which tyrants should feel; and my indignation rises to see thee in a city where thou mayest yet, without fear, enjoy some pleasures.[s]

What, said I to Euryalus, with the utmost astonishment, is this the king of Syracuse? It is, replied

[q] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242. [r] Id. ibid. * No doubt the same who was the author of a treatise on music, still extant, and inserted in the collection of Meibomius. [s] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243.

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he, but he does not know me; his sight is impaired by excessive drinking:[t] let us listen to the remainder of the conversation. Dionysius supported his part in it with equal wit and moderation. Aristoxenus asked him the reason of the disgrace of Plato. A tyrant, answered he, is besieged by every kind of evil, and the most dangerous is, that his friends will conceal from him the truth. I listened to their advice, and obliged Plato to leave my court. What was the consequence? I was king of Syracuse, and now am a schoolmaster at Corinth.[u] In fact, we more than once saw him in a cross way, teaching children the principles of grammar.[x]

The same motive which had induced me to go to Corinth daily brought thither a number of strangers; some of whom, at the sight of this unhappy prince, manifested emotions of pity;[y] but the greater part dwelt with pleasure on a spectacle which the circumstances of the times rendered more interesting. As Philip seemed to be on the point of enslaving Greece, they satiated on the king of Syracuse that hatred which they had conceived against the king of Macedon. The instructive example of a tyrant suddenly plunged into the lowest humiliation, was soon the only consolation of those haughty republicans. Some time after, the Lacedæmonians returned no other

[t] Aristot. et Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 439. Justin. lib. 21. c. 2. [u] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243. [x] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 3. c. 12. t. ii. p. 310. Id. ad Famil. lib. 9. epist. 18. t. vii. p. 317. Justin. lib. 21. cap. 5. Lucian. Somn. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 737. Val. Max. lib. 6. c. 9. Extern. N° 6. [y] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242.

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answer to the menaces of Philip than these energetic words, *Dionysius is at Corinth.*[z]

We conversed several times with Dionysius. He freely confessed his faults, no doubt because it had cost him little to commit them. Euryalus wished to know what he thought of the homage that had been rendered him at Syracuse. I entertained at my court, answered he, a number of sophists and poets; I had not esteem for them, but they acquired me a great character.[a] My courtiers perceived that my sight began to grow weak, and they became, as I may say, totally blind. They could no longer see any thing: when they met in my presence, they ran, one against the other: and at our entertainments I was obliged to guide their hands, with which they seemed to feel about the table.[b] And were you not offended at this meanness? said Euryalus. Sometimes, replied Dionysius; but it is so pleasing to pardon!

At this moment a Corinthian, who affected to be witty, and whose honesty was suspected, appeared at the threshold of the door, and, to show that he had not a poniard concealed under his robe, shook it several times, as those do who are admitted into the presence of tyrants. That ceremony, said Dionysius to him, would be better placed were you to observe it when you leave us.[c]

A short time after, another person came in, and fatigued him with his importunities. Dionysius whis-

[z] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. c. 8. [a] Plat. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176. [b] Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 439. Plut. de Adul. t. ii. p. 53. [c] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 18. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.

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pered us, with a sigh: Happy are those who have learned to suffer from their childhood![d]

Similar insults were every moment repeated, and, indeed, he himself appeared to seek them. He passed his life in taverns, in the streets, and among the lowest of the people, whom he had made the companions of his pleasures. It was easy at once to discern in him the low propensities which he had received from nature, and the elevated sentiments which he derived from his former condition. He spoke like a wise man, but acted like a fool. I was unable to explain the mystery of his conduct. A Syracusan who had observed him with attention said to me: His mind is too feeble and trivial for him to behave with greater propriety in adversity than in prosperity: and he is besides sensible that the sight of a tyrant, even though he is dethroned, excites distrust and fear in free citizens. Should he prefer obscurity to that meanness by which he now degrades himself, his tranquillity would be suspected by the Corinthians, who favoured the revolt of Sicily. He fears lest they should imagine there is reason to fear him, and saves himself from their hatred by courting their contempt.[e]

The latter he had completely acquired during my stay at Corinth, and afterwards amply merited that of all Greece. Whether from wretchedness or derangement of mind, he joined a company of the priests of Cybele, and went with them from town to town, with a tympanum in his hand, singing and

[d] Stob. Serm. 110. p. 582. [e] Justin. lib. 21. c. 5. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242.

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dancing round the image of the godddess, and begging from the by-standers a trifling alms.[f]

Before he acted a part in these low scenes, he had obtained permission to leave Corinth, and travel through Greece. The king of Macedon received him with distinction; and, in their first conversation, Philip asked him, how it had happened that he had lost that kingdom of which his father had kept possession for so long a time? "Because," replied he, "I inherited the power of my father, but not his fortune."[g] A Corinthian had before put to him the same question, and he had then answered: "When my father ascended the throne, the people were tired of the democracy; when they drove me from it, they were weary of tyranny."[h] One day, at the table of the king of Macedon, the conversation turned on the poetry of Dionysius the Elder; when Philip asked him, what time his father could find to compose so great a number of works? "That," replied he, "which you and I pass here in drinking."[i]

His vices twice plunged him into misfortunes, and his fate, each time, raised up against him one of the greatest men that the present age has produced; Dion in the first instance, and afterwards Timoleon. I shall here give some account of the latter, and relate what I learned concerning him during the last years of my stay in Greece.

[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 8. Athen. lib. 12. c. 11. p. 541. Eustath. in Odys. lib. 10. p. 1824. [g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 60. [h] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176. [i] Id. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.

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We have seen above,* that, after the death of his brother, Timoleon had, for some time, left Corinth, and for ever renounced public affairs. He had passed near twenty years in this voluntary exile,[k] when the people of Syracuse, no longer able to resist their tyrants, implored the aid of the Corinthians, from whom they derived their origin. The latter resolved to levy troops; but as they hesitated concerning the choice of a general, some unknown person by chance mentioned Timoleon, and his name was immediately re-echoed with universal acclamation.[l] The prosecution formerly commenced against him had only been suspended, and the judges now resolved that the decision should be referred to himself. Timoleon, said they to him, according to the manner in which you conduct yourself on the present occasion, we shall conclude that you have put to death a brother or a tyrant.[m]

The Syracusans believed themselves destitute of all resource. Icetas, the chief of the Leontines, whose succour they had demanded, thought only of enslaving them, and had entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. Master of Syracuse, he held Dionysius besieged in the citadel, and the fleet of Carthage cruised near the harbour to intercept that of Corinth. In the interior parts of the island, a fatal experience had taught the Grecian cities to distrust all who were eager to offer them aid.[n]

* See Chap. IX. Vol. II. [k] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238. [l] Id. ibid. p. 237. [m] Id. ibid. p. 238. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459. [n] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 241. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 461.

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Timoleon set sail with ten galleys and a small number of soldiers,[o] and, escaping the Carthaginian fleet, arrived in Italy, and thence proceeded to Tauromenium in Sicily. Between that city and Syracuse is the city of Adranum, some of the inhabitants of which had invited Icetas, and others Timoleon; who both marched at the same time, the former at the head of five thousand men, and the latter with twelve hundred. At the distance of thirty stadia from Adranum, Timoleon learned that the troops of Icetas had arrived, and were preparing to encamp around the city. Immediately he hastened his march, and fell on them with such impetuosity, and in such good order, that they fled without resistance, leaving him master of their camp, their baggage, and a great number of prisoners.

This success immediately changed the disposition of men's minds, and the face of affairs. The revolution was so rapid, that Timoleon, within fifty days after his arrival in Sicily, saw the different states of that island court his alliance, some of the tyrants join their forces to his,[p] and Dionysius himself surrender at discretion, and give up to him the citadel of Syracuse, with the treasures and troops which he had collected.

It is not my intention minutely to describe all the circumstances of this glorious expedition; I shall only say, that if Timoleon, while yet young, showed

[o] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 239. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 462.
[p] Plut. ibid. p. 241 et 248. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 463.

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in battle the maturity of an advanced age, he exhibited in the decline of life all the warmth and activity of youth;[q] that he displayed all the talents and qualities of a great general; that, at the head of a small number of troops, he delivered Sicily from the tyrants by which it was oppressed, and defended it against a power still more formidable, that wished to enslave it; that, with six thousand men, he put to flight an army of seventy thousand Carthaginians;[r] and, in a word, that his plans were formed with so much wisdom, that he appeared to be the master of fortune, and to dispose at pleasure of events.

But the glory of Timoleon consists not in this continuance of rapid success, which he himself attributed to fortune, and the lustre of which he transferred to his country;[s] it is founded on a succession of conquests more worthy of the gratitude of men.

The sword had destroyed one part of the inhabitants of Sicily, and great numbers of those who remained, flying from the oppression of their tyrants, were dispersed throughout Greece, in the islands of the Ægean Sea, and on the coasts of Asia. Corinth, animated with the same spirit as her general, engaged them by her deputies to return to their country. She supplied them with ships, leaders, an escort, and, on their arrival in Sicily, allotted lands to be divided among them. At the same time heralds proclaimed, on the part of the Corinthians, at the

[q] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237. [r] Id. ibid. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 471. [s] Plut. ibid. p. 250 et 253.

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solemn games of Greece, that they acknowledged the independence of Syracuse and of all Sicily.[t]

At these shouts of liberty, which resounded likewise throughout all Italy, six thousand men repaired to Syracuse; some to enjoy there the rights of citizens, and others to be distributed in the interior parts of the island.[u]

The form of government had recently undergone frequent revolutions,[x] and the laws had lost their vigour. The latter had been drawn up for the Syracusans by an assembly of enlightened men, at the head of whom was that Diocles, to whose memory a temple was erected, which the elder Dionysius caused to be demolished. This severe legislator had forbidden any person to appear with arms in the forum, under pain of death. Some time after, the enemy having made an incursion into the environs of Syracuse, he left his house with a sword in his hand; and learning at the same time that there was a tumult in the forum, he immediately ran thither, without thinking of the weapon he carried with him; on which some person exclaimed, You have abrogated your own law. Say rather I have confirmed it, answered he, and instantly plunged his sword into his breast.[y]

His laws established the democracy; but, to correct the vices of this government, they punished with rigour every species of injustice, and, that nothing might be left to the caprice of judges, provided as

[t] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 247. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 472. [u] Plut. ibid. Diod. ibid. p. 473; lib. 19. p. 652. [x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 4. t. ii. p. 390. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 162.

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much as possible a decision for each contestation, and a punishment for every offence. Yet, besides that they are written in old language, their extreme precision occasions obscurity. Timoleon revised them, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two Corinthians, whom he had invited to assist him.[z] Those which related to individuals were preserved, with explanations that might determine their meaning; those that regarded the constitution were amended, and the licentiousness of the people was repressed without detriment to their liberty. To ensure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that liberty, Timoleon invited them to destroy all those citadels which had become the haunts of tyrants.[a]

The powerful republic of Carthage forced to sue for peace to the Syracusans; the oppressors of Sicily successively extirpated; her cities restored to their former splendour; her fields covered with harvests; a flourishing commerce, concord, and happiness: such were the benefits which Timoleon diffused over that beautiful country,[b] and such the fruits which he himself gathered.

Having voluntarily returned to the condition of a private individual, he saw the respect paid to him increase from day to day. The people of Syracuse obliged him to accept in their city a distinguished house, and an agreeable retreat in the environs, where he passed his days in peace, with his wife and

[z] Plut. in Timol. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 263; lib. 16. p. 473. [a] Nep. in Timol. c. 3. [b] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 473.

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children, whom he had sent for from Corinth. He there incessantly received the tribute of esteem and gratitude which was paid to him by the Syracusans, who considered him as their second founder. Whatever treaties or regulations were made throughout Sicily, he was resorted to from every place, that they might be submitted to his judgment and experience, and nothing was done without his approbation.[c]

In the latter part of his life he lost his sight.[d] The Syracusans, more affected at his misfortune than he was himself, redoubled their respect and attention. They brought foreigners who visited their country to see him: Behold, said they, our benefactor and our father! He has preferred to the splendid triumph which awaited him at Corinth, to the glory which he would have acquired in Greece, the pleasure of living in the midst of his children.[e] Timoleon returned to the eulogiums they lavished on him only this modest answer: "The gods had decreed to save Sicily: I thank them that they chose me to be the instrument of their goodness."[f]

The love of the Syracusans for their deliverer was still more conspicuous when any important question was to be discussed in the general assembly. Deputies were sent to request his presence; he came in a chariot; and the moment he appeared all the people saluted him with loud shouts. Timoleon saluted them in return; and, after the transports of joy and affection had subsided, informed himself of the subject of

[c] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 253. [d] Nep. in Timol. c. 4.
[e] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 254 [f] Nep. in Timol. c. 4.

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their deliberations, and gave his opinion, which the whole assembly adopted in their suffrages. On his return he again crossed the forum, followed by the same acclamations till he was out of sight.[g]

The Syracusans never believed they had sufficiently expressed their gratitude. They decreed that his birth-day should be celebrated as a festival, and that they should request a general from Corinth whenever they were engaged in a war with a foreign nation.[h]

At his death, the public grief only found consolation in the honours bestowed on his memory. Time was allowed for the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to repair to Syracuse to be present at the funeral ceremonies. Youths, chosen by lot, bore on their shoulders the body, extended on a couch richly ornamented. An innumerable multitude of men and women followed, crowned with flowers, habited in white robes, and making the air resound with the name and praises of Timoleon; but their groans and tears still more evinced their affection and their grief.

When the body was laid on the funeral pile, a herald read with a loud voice the following decree: "The people of Syracuse, in gratitude to Timoleon, who destroyed their tyrants, conquered the barbarians, restored several great cities, and gave laws to the Sicilians, have resolved to consecrate two hundred minæ to his funeral, and annually to honour his memory by musical competitions, horse-races, and gymnastic games."[i]

[g] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 254. [h] Id. ibid. Nep. in Timol. c. 5. [i] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 255.

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Other generals have signalised themselves by more splendid conquests, but none ever performed actions so truly great. He undertook the war to effect the deliverance of Sicily, and, when he had completed his design, had no other ambition than to be beloved.

He caused the sovereign authority, while he was invested with it, to be universally respected and honoured; and, when he had resigned it, obeyed and reverenced it even more than the other citizens. One day, in full assembly, two orators dared to accuse him of malversation in the employments he had held; and when the people rose against them with indignation, Timoleon restrained them, saying: "I have only undergone so many labours, and braved such various dangers, to enable the meanest citizen to defend the laws, and freely to declare his opinion."[k]

He exercised over all hearts an absolute dominion, because he was mild, modest, simple, disinterested, and above all, unimpeachably just. So many virtues disarmed those who might have envied the splendor of his actions, and the superiority of his abilities. Timoleon experienced that, after having rendered great services to a nation, it is sufficient to leave it to itself to become the object of its adoration.

[k] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 253. Nep. in Timol. c. 5.

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CHAPTER LXIV.

Continuation of the Library.—Physics.—Natural History.—Genii.

On my return from Corinth, I again visited Euclid. A part of his library still remained, which I wished to examine; and I found him in it, in company with Meton and Anaxarchus. The former was of Agrigentum in Sicily, and of the same family as the celebrated Empedocles; the latter was of Abdera in Thrace, and of the school of Democritus; each had a book in his hand, and appeared absorbed in profound meditation.

Euclid showed me several treatises on animals, plants, and fossils. I am not very rich, said he, in these kinds of works; for a taste for natural history, and physics, properly so called, has only been introduced among us within these few years. Not but several men of genius have formerly employed themselves in researches into nature. I have some time ago shown you their works; and you recollect, no doubt, that discourse in which the high-priest of Ceres gave you a succinct idea of their systems.* You then learned that they ought to obtain a know-

* See Chap. XXX. Vol. III.

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ledge of causes rather than effects, of the matter of beings rather than their forms.[l]

Socrates directed philosophy towards public utility: and his disciples, after his example, dedicated their inquiries to the study of man.[m] That of the rest of the universe, suspended during near a century, and resumed in our time, is continued with more propriety and discernment. Those general questions which were the subject of dispute among the ancient philosophers are indeed discussed; but endeavours are made at the same time to ascend from effects to causes, and from the known to the unknown.[n] With this view our philosophers descend more to particulars, and begin to collect and compare facts.

An essential defect formerly retarded the progress of science: sufficient attention was not paid to explain the essence of each body in particular,[o] nor to define the terms employed; and this negligence had at last inspired such disgust, that the study of natural philosophy was abandoned precisely at the moment when the art of definition began, that is to say, in the time of Socrates.[p]

At these words Anaxarchus and Meton approached us. Has not Democritus, said the former, given accurate definitions? And did not Empedocles, said the latter, pay particular attention to the analysis

[l] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 2. t. i. p. 329. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 967 et 968. [m] Id. ibid. p. 971. [n] Id. ibid. p. 967. Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 315. [o] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 2. p. 329. [p] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 971. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 6. t. ii. p. 848.

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of bodies? More frequently than the other philosophers, answered Euclid, but not so often as they should have done.[q] The conversation then became more animated; Euclid warmly defended the doctrine of Aristotle his friend, and Anaxarchus and Meton that of their countrymen. The latter more than once accused Aristotle of having misrepresented in his works the systems of the ancients, that he might combat them with more advantage.[r] Meton went still further; he affirmed that Aristotle, Plato, and even Socrates himself, had borrowed from the writings of the Pythagoreans of Italy and Sicily almost all that they had taught concerning nature, politics, and morals. It was in those happy countries, added he, that philosophy received its birth, and to Pythagoras are mankind indebted for that benefit.[s]

I entertain the most profound veneration for that great man, answered Euclid; but since he and other philosophers have appropriated to themselves, with acknowledgment, the riches of Egypt, the East, and all the nations which we name barbarians,[t] have not we the same right to convey them into Greece? Let us mutually pardon each other these thefts, and have the courage to render to my friend the justice which he merits. I have frequently heard him say, that

[q] Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 970. [r] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. § 53. p. 49. Bruck. Hist. Philos. Dissert. Prælim. p. 14; et lib. 2. c. 1. p. 464. Moshem. ad Cudw. c. 1. § 7. not. y. [s] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 49. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. [t] Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 2. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 5. p. 355. Bruck. Hist. Philos. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 47.

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opinions should be discussed with the equity of an impartial judge:[u] if he has offended against this rule, I condemn him. He does not always name the authors from whom he has derived his knowledge: because he has declared in general that his design was to profit by them.[x] He cites them more frequently when he refutes them, because the celebrity of their names was but too capable to give credit to the errors which he wished to destroy.

Aristotle has availed himself of the treasures of knowledge accumulated by your labours and ours; he will increase them by his own, and, transmitting them to posterity, will erect the most noble of monuments, not to the vanity of an individual, but to the glory of all the schools of Greece.

I was acquainted with him at the Academy; our friendship for each other was strengthened by time; and, since he has left Athens, I have maintained with him an unintermitting correspondence. You can only judge of him from the small number of works which he has published: inform yourself of the extensive nature of his comprehensive plans, and then censure, if you can dare to do it, his errors and omissions.

Nature, who is silent to the greater part of men, early informed him that she had chosen him for her confident and interpreter. I shall not tell you that, born with the most happy dispositions, he made an uncommonly rapid progress in the sciences and arts;

[u] Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 1. c. 10. t. i. p. 446. [x] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. c. 10. t. ii. p. 144.

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that in his early youth he devoured the works of the philosophers, and relaxed his mind after his graver studies with the writings of the poets; and that he made the knowledge of every age and country his own:[y] this would be to praise him as the generality of great men are praised. What he is distinguished by is the taste and genius of observation; the faculty of uniting in his researches the most surprising activity with the most tenacious constancy; and that piercing discernment, that extraordinary sagacity, which conducts him instantaneously to consequences, and almost inclines us to believe that his mind acts rather by instinct than by reflexion: it is, in a word, the conception that the whole of what art and nature present to our eyes is only an immense succession of facts, appertaining all to one common chain, and frequently too similar not to be easily confounded, and too different not to require to be distinguished. Hence the course he has taken to secure his progress by doubt;[z] to enlighten it by the frequent use of definitions, divisions, and subdivisions; and not to advance toward the abode of truth till he has explored the confines of the enclosure in which she is shut up.

Such is the method which he will follow in the execution of a plan that any other than himself would fear to attempt; I mean the general and particular history of nature. He will begin from the great and stupendous masses; the origin or eternity of the

[y] Ammon. Vit. Aristot. t. ii. p. 853.

[z] Aristoph. Metaph. lib. 3. c. 1.

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world;[a] the causes, principles, and essence of beings;[b] the nature, and reciprocal action of the elements; and the composition and dissolution of bodies.[c] In this work he will revive and discuss the questions concerning infinity, motion, a vacuum, space, and time.[d]

He will describe, in whole or in part, whatever exists or passes in the heavens, and in the interior parts, or on the surface of our globe: in the heavens, the meteors,[e] the distances and revolutions of the planets, the nature of the stars, and the spheres to which they are attached;[f] in the bosom of the earth, fossils, minerals,[g] and the violent concussions which overturn the globe;[h] and on its surface, the seas, rivers,[i] plants,[k] and animals.[l]

As man is subject to an infinity of necessities and duties, he will consider whatever relates to him. He will treat of the anatomy of the human body,[m] the nature and faculties of the soul,[n] the objects and organs of sensation,[o] the rules proper to guide the most subtle operations of the mind,[p] and the most secret emo-

[a] Aristoph. Metaph. lib. 3. cap. 1. tom. ii. page 853. [b] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. et 2. t. i. p. 315, &c. Id. Metaph. t. ii. p. 838. [c] Id. de Gener. et Corrupt. t. i. p. 493. &c. Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. § 25. [d] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 3, 4, &c. [e] Id. Meteor. t. i. p. 528. [f] Id. de Cœl. lib. 2. t. 1. p. 452. Id. Astronom. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. § 26. [g] Id. Meteor. lib. 3. c. 6. t. i. p. 583. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 566. [i] Id. ibid. c. 2 p. 551, &c. [k] Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. § 25. [l] Aristot. Hist. Anim. Id. de Animal. Incess. Part. Gener. t. i. Diog. Laërt. ibid. [m] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 768, &c. Diog. Laërt. ibid. [n] Aristot. de Anim. t. i. p. 616. De Mem. ibid. p. 678. [o] Id. de Sens. ibid. p. 662. [p] Id. Categ. Analyt. Topic. t. i. p. 14, &c. Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 23 et 24.

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tions of the heart;[q] and on laws,[r] governments,[s] sciences, and arts.[t] On all these interesting objects the historian will unite his own judgment and experience to those of preceding ages: and, conformably to the practice of many philosophers, continually applying physics to morals, will increase our knowledge to render us more happy.

Such is the plan of Aristotle, as far as I have been able to understand it from his conversations and his letters: but I know not whether he will be able to follow the order which I have here pointed out. And why should he not? said I. Because, answered he, certain subjects require preliminary illustrations. Without leaving his closet, in which he has collected a most valuable library,[u] he will be able to treat on a great number of subjects; but when he shall come to give the description and history of all the animals scattered over the earth, what a long and laborious course of observations will be required to complete such a work! Yet his courage is only rendered more ardent by obstacles; and, besides the materials of which he is already in possession, he founds very reasonable hopes on the patronage of Philip, whose esteem he has deservedly acquired;[x] and on that of Alexander, whose education he has undertaken to superintend. If it be true, as is reported, that this

[q] Aristot. de Mor. Magn. Mor. de Virt. et Vit. t. ii. p. 3, &c. [r] Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 26. [s] Aristot. de Rep. t. ii. p. 296. [t] Diog. Laërt. ibid. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. lib. 3. c. 6 et 7. t. ii. p. 107, &c. [u] Strab. lib. 13. p. 608. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 3. c. 17. [x] Aul. Gell. lib. 9. c. 3. Ammon. Vit. Aristot. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 19.

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young prince has already manifested a lively taste for the sciences,[y] we may hope that when he comes to the throne he will enable his tutor to proceed successfully in his design.[z]

Scarcely had Euclid ended, when Anaxarchus thus replied: I might attribute to Democritus the same plan that you have ascribed to Aristotle. I here see the numberless works which he has published on nature, and the different parts of the universe; on animals, plants, the soul of man, his senses, duties, and virtues; on medicine, anatomy, agriculture, logic, geometry, astronomy, geography, and, I will add, on music and poetry.[a] I shall not speak of that enchanting style by which he has diffused graces over the most abstract subjects.[b] He is universally allowed to merit the first rank among those natural philosophers who have referred effects to causes. In his writings we admire a succession of novel ideas, sometimes too bold, but often happy. You know that, after the example of Leucippus, his master, whose system he brought to perfection,[c] he admitted a vacuum, atoms, and vortices; that he considered the moon as another earth, covered with inhabitants;[d] that he thought the milky-way to consist of a multitude of small stars;[e] that he reduced all our senses to that of feeling;[f] and

[y] Plut. de Fort. Alexand. t. ii. p. 327, 328, &c. [z] Plin. lib. 8. c. 16. t. i. p. 443. [a] Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 46. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 803. [b] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 11. t. i. p. 141. [c] Bruck. Hist. Philosoph. t. i. p. 1187. [d] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. c. 25. t. ii. p. 891. [e] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 8. t. i. p. 538. Plut. ibid. p. 893. [f] Aristot. de Sens. c. 4. t. i. p. 669.

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that he constantly denied that colours and other sensible qualities were inherent in bodies.[g]

Some of these ideas had before been suggested,[h] but he had the merit of adopting and extending them. He was the first who conceived others; and posterity may be enabled to determine whether they were sallies of genius or wanderings of the mind: future ages may perhaps discover with certainty what he has only been able to conjecture. If I could suspect your philosophers of jealousy, I should say that, in their works, Plato affects not to name him, and Aristotle incessantly to attack him.

Euclid exclaimed against this censure; and the questions already treated were resumed. Sometimes each combatant sustained the contest without a second, and sometimes the third had to defend himself against the attacks of the other two. I shall suppress the particulars of the dispute, to give the conclusions I drew from it; and explain, in a few words, the opinions of Aristotle and Empedocles on the origin and government of the universe. I have already, in another place, given that of Democritus on the same subject.*

All the philosophers, said Euclid, have taught that the world was produced; always to continue, according to some; one day to have an end, as others affirm; and, according to a third class, to terminate, and be re-produced, at periodical intervals. Aristotle

[g] Aristot. de Anim. lib. 3. c. 1. t. i. p. 649. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 399. [h] Aristot. de Sens. c. 4. t. i. p. 669.

* See Chap. XXX. Vol. III.

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maintains that the world always has been, and always will exist.[i] Permit me to interrupt you, said Meton. Before Aristotle, several of our Pythagoreans, and among others Ocellus of Lucania, had admitted the eternity of the world.[k] I confess it, replied Euclid, but Aristotle has supported the opinion by new proofs. I shall confine myself to those which he derives from the nature of motion. If motion, says he, has had a beginning, it must originally have begun in pre-existing beings; which beings must either have been produced, or have existed from all eternity. In the former case, they could not have been produced but by a motion prior to that which we suppose to have been the first: and, in the latter, we must say that these beings before they were moved were at rest; but the idea of rest always contains in it that of a suspension of motion, of which it is the privation.[l] Motion therefore is eternal.

Some admit the eternity of matter, and ascribe an origin to the universe. The parts of matter, say they, were agitated without order in chaos till the moment in which they united to form bodies. We answer, that the motion of these particles must have been conformable or contrary to the laws of nature,[m] since it is impossible we should conceive any other. If it was conformable to those laws, the world must always have existed; and if it was contrary to them, it never could

[i] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 1. t. i. p. 409. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 447. [k] Ocell. Lucan. c. 2. [l] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 1. t. i. p. 408. [m] Id. de Cœl. lib. 3. c. 2. t. i. p. 475.

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have had a being: for, in the former case, the particles of matter would of themselves have assumed, from all eternity, that arrangement which they still preserve; and in the latter, they never could have fallen into it, since a motion contrary to nature must separate and destroy, and cannot unite and construct.[n] And how is it possible to conceive that irregular motions should have been able to compose such substances as the bones, flesh, and other parts of the human body?[o]

We perceive, throughout nature, a succession of moving forces, which, acting one upon the other, produce a continuity of causes and effects. Thus the stone is moved by the staff,[p] the staff by the arm, the arm by the will, &c. As the series of these forces cannot be continued to infinity,[q] it must end in some moving powers, or rather in one single moving power, the existence of which has been from all eternity, and of necessity.[r] This power is the first and most excellent of beings; it is God himself, intelligent, immutable, indivisible, and unextended,[s] who resides beyond the boundaries of the world, and there enjoys ineffable bliss in the contemplation of himself.[t]

As his power is ever in action, he communicates, and will uninterruptedly communicate, motion to the

[n] Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 433. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 475. [p] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 5. t. i. p. 415. [q] Id. ibid. Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 8. t. ii. p. 1008. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 882. E.; lib. 14. c. 7. t. ii. p. 1000. D. [s] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 6. et 7. t. i. p. 418; c. 15. p. 430. Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 7 et 8. t. ii. p. 1001. [t] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 9. t. ii. p. 1004. Id. de Mor. lib. 10. c. 8. t. ii. p. 139. E. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 193.

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primum mobile,[u] to the celestial sphere in which are the fixed stars. He has communicated it from all eternity; and, in fact, what power could have enchained his arm, or shall hereafter be able to confine it? Why should motion have begun at one epocha rather than another, or why should it one day cease?[x]

The motion of the primum mobile communicates itself to the inferior spheres, and causes them to revolve diurnally from east to west; but each of them has besides one or several motions, directed by eternal and immaterial substances.[y]

These secondary agents are subordinate to the first mover,[z] nearly in the same manner as in an army the officers are to the general.[a] This opinion is not novel. According to ancient traditions, the Divinity pervades all nature; and though these traditions may have been disfigured by monstrous fables, they still clearly preserve the remains of the true doctrine.[b]

The primum mobile being put in motion by the immediate action of the first mover, an action ever simple and ever the same, experiences no change, and is incapable of generation or corruption.[c] It is in this constant and tranquil uniformity that the attribute of immortality is especially resplendent.

The same is true of the inferior spheres; but the

[u] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 6. p. 999; c. 7. t. ii. p. 1001. Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 15. t. i. p. 430. [x] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 409 et 410. [y] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 8. t. ii. p. 1002. Bruck. t. i. p. 831. [z] Aristot. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. t. i. p. 525. [a] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 10. t. ii. p. 1004. [b] Id. ibid. c. 8. t. ii. p. 1003. D. [c] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. t. i. p. 524.

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diversity of their motions produces on the earth, and in the sublunary region, continual changes, such as the dissolution and reproduction of bodies.[d]

Euclid, after having endeavoured to demonstrate the connexion of these effects with the causes which he had assigned to them, continued as follows:

The excellence and beauty of the universe consists in the order and regularity by which it is perpetuated;[e] a regularity which shines more conspicuously in the heavens than on the earth,[f] and to which all beings more or less directly tend. As, in a well-regulated family,[g] the freemen, slaves, and beasts of burden, all concur to the maintenance of the little community with more or less zeal or success, according as they are more or less removed from the person of the master; in like manner, in the general system of things, all efforts are directed to the preservation of the whole with more promptitude and concert in the heavens, where the influence of the first mover more immediately acts; but with greater negligence and confusion in the sublunary regions, because they are more remote from his eye.[h]

From this universal tendency of all beings to the same purpose, it results that nature, far from giving birth to any thing useless, ever seeks to produce what

[d] Aristot. de Gener. et lib. 2. c. 10. p. 525. [e] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 10. t. ii. p. 1004. [f] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 970. A. [g] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 10. t. ii. p. 1005. [h] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. t. i. p. 524. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 970.

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is the best possible,[i] and proposes to herself an end in all her operations.[k]

At these words, the two strangers exclaimed, at the same time, But why recur to final causes? Who has told you that nature has chosen that which is best adapted to each species of beings? It rains on our fields; but is it to fertilise them? Certainly not. It is only because the vapours, attracted by the sun, and condensed by the cold, acquire by their union a heaviness which compels them to descend upon the earth. They are accidentally the cause of the growth of our corn, and rot it when heaped up in the barn. It is by accident that we have some teeth convenient for the separating, and others proper for the mastication, of our food.[l] In the origin of things, added Meton, when chance produced the first rude sketches of animals, it formed heads which were not affixed to necks.[m] Soon after men appeared with the heads of bulls, and bulls with human faces.[n] These facts are confirmed by tradition, which, immediately after the disentanglement of chaos, places the birth of giants, bodies provided with a great number of arms, and men who had but one eye.[o] These races perished,

[i] Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 2. c. 5. t. i. p. 458; c. 11. p. 463. Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. t. i. p. 525. [k] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 336. Id. de Anim. Incess. c. 2. p. 734. [l] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336. [m] Emped. ap. Aristot. de Anim. lib. 3. c. 7. t. i. p. 654. Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 3. c. 2. t. i. p. 476. [n] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 336. Plut. adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1123. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. 16. c. 29. [o] Hom. Hesiod. Æschyl. ap. Strab. lib. 1. p. 43; lib. 7. p. 299.

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from some defect in their conformation, while others have remained. Instead of saying, as should have been said, that the latter were better organised, it has been imagined that there is a proper adaptation of their organs to their pretended end.

Scarcely any one of the philosophers, replied Euclid, has admitted what is called chance or fortune as a principle.[p] These vague words have only been employed to explain effects which have not been foreseen, or those which proceed from remote, or hitherto unknown causes.[q] Properly speaking, fortune and chance produce nothing of themselves; and if, in conformity to customary language, we admit them as accidental causes, we do not the less consider intelligence and nature as the primary causes.[r]

You are not ignorant, said Anaxarchus, that the word nature has several acceptations: in what sense do you now employ it? I understand by this word, replied Euclid, the principle of motion which is self-existent in the elements of fire, air, earth, and water.[s] Its action is ever uniform in the heavens, but frequently resisted by obstacles in the sublunary region. For example, the natural property of fire is to ascend, yet a foreign force frequently obliges it to take an opposite direction.[t] Thus with respect to this lower

[p] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 4. t. i. p. 382. [q] Id. ibid. c. 5. p. 383. [r] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 385. [s] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 327; lib. 3. c. 1. p. 339. [t] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 6. t. i. p. 521.

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region, nature is not only the principle of motion, but also accidentally of rest and change.[u]

Nature presents us with regular and constant revolutions, and effects that are invariable, or almost always the same. Suffer me to call your attention only to the latter, and ask you whether it is possible you should consider them as fortuitous?[x] Without enlarging on the admirable order which is conspicuous in the superior spheres, I will content myself with asking you, whether it is by chance that rain is constantly more frequent in winter than in summer, and the heat more powerful in summer than in winter?[y] Cast your eyes on plants, and principally on animals, in which nature displays herself in characters most distinct. Though the latter act without inquiry and deliberation, their actions nevertheless are so adapted to the purpose intended, that it has been doubted whether spiders and ants are not endowed with understanding. But if the swallow has a design in building her nest, and the spider in weaving her web; if plants are covered with leaves to defend their fruits; and if their roots, instead of rising into the air, make their way downwards into the earth, to imbibe its nourishing juices; shall we not be compelled to acknowledge that the final cause is clearly demonstrated in these effects, constantly repeated in the same manner?[z]

Art sometimes fails to attain its end, even when

[u] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 1. t. i. p. 327. [x] Id. ibid. c. 5. p. 333. [y] Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 336 et 337. [z] Id. ibid.

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it employs reflection, and sometimes attains it without; but it is not the less true that it always has an end in view. The same may be said of nature. On the one hand obstacles impede her operations, and monsters are her failures.[a] On the other, by compelling creatures incapable of reflection to produce other creatures like themselves, she conducts them to the end she has proposed in her works. And what is this end? The perpetuating of the species. What is the greatest good of these species? Their existence and preservation.[b]

While Euclid thus explained the ideas of Aristotle, Anaxarchus and Meton forced him to make confessions which they soon after employed against him.

You acknowledge, said they, a God, a first mover, whose immediate action eternally maintains order in the heavens; but you do not inform us how far his influence extends on earth. When pressed by our objections, you have at first affirmed that heaven and nature are dependent on him.[c] You have afterwards said, with restriction, that all motion is *in some manner* subordinate to him;[d] that *he appears* to be the cause and principle of all things;[e] that *he appears* to extend his care to human affairs.[f] You have afterwards added, that in the universe he can only behold

[a] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 337. [b] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 525. B. [c] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 7. t. ii. p. 1000. E. [d] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. t. i. p. 525. E. [e] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 841. D. [f] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. c. 9. t. ii. p. 140. E.

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himself, for that the sight of guilt and disorder would be a pollution to his eyes;[g] that he can neither be the author of the prosperity of the wicked, nor of the misfortunes of the good.[h] Why all these doubts and restrictions? Explain yourself openly. Does the Divine Being extend his providence to mankind?

In the same manner, replied Euclid, that the master of a family extends his care to the lowest of his slaves.[i] The regulations he has established for the general benefit of his house, and not their particular advantage, subsist the same, though they frequently offend against them. He disregards their dissensions, and the vices inseparable from their nature. If their number is reduced by sickness, or if they destroy each other, they are soon replaced. Thus, in the little corner of the universe in which men reside, order is maintained by the general impulse of the will of the Supreme Being. The revolutions which this globe experiences, and the evils which afflict human nature, obstruct not the progress of the universe; the earth still endures; generations succeed generations; and the great object of the first mover is fulfilled.[k]

You must excuse me, said Euclid, if I do not enter more circumstantially into the question.—Aristotle has not yet explained this subject, and perhaps

[g] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 9. t. ii. p. 1004. Du Val. Synops. Analyt. lib. 14. c. 9. t. ii. p. 122. [h] Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. c. 8. t. ii. p. 185. A. [i] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 10. t. ii. p. 1004. [k] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. t. i. p. 525.

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he will entirely omit it; for he is more attentive to the principles of physics than those of theology.[l] I am not even certain that I have properly understood his ideas; and the explanation of an opinion with which we are only acquainted by short conversations, without succession or connection, too often resembles those works which are disfigured by the inattention or ignorance of the copyists.

Euclid was now silent, and Meton spoke as follows: Empedocles rendered his country illustrious by his laws,[m] and extended and embellished philosophy by his writings. His poem on Nature,[n] and all his works in verse, abound in beauties which Homer himself might have owned.[o] I grant, nevertheless, that his metaphors, however happy they may be, are injurious to the precision of his ideas, and sometimes only serve to cast a splendid veil over the operations of nature.[p] As to his opinions, he followed Pythagoras, not with the blind deference of a common soldier, but with the noble audacity of the leader of a party, and with the independence of a man who would rather have chosen to be a private individual in a free city than to rule over slaves.[q] Though he principally directed his attention to the phænomena of nature, he has nevertheless explained his opinion on first causes.

In this world, which is only a small portion of the whole, and beyond which there is neither motion nor

[l] Procl. in Tim. p. 90. [m] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 66. [n] Id. ibid. § 77. [o] Id. ibid. § 57. [p] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 3. t. i. p. 555. [q] Xanth. et Aristot. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 68.

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life,[r] we distinguish two principles; the one active, which is God, and the other passive, which is matter.[s]

God, who is the supreme intelligence and the source of truth, can only be conceived by the mind.[t] Matter was only an assemblage of subtle, similar, round, and immoveable parts,[u] possessing essentially two properties, which we shall design by the names of love and hatred, destined the one to unite, and the other to separate, these parts.[x] To form the world, God only bestowed activity on these two moving forces, till then enchained. Immediately they exerted their powers, and the chaos was violently agitated by all the fury of hatred and love. In its bosom, upturned from its immense abysses, torrents of matter impetuously rolled, and dashed against each other. The similar parts, by turns attracted and repulsed, at length united and formed the four elements,[y] which, after new conflicts, produced deformed natures and monstrous beings[z] that were afterwards succeeded by bodies of more perfect organization.

Thus the world arose out of Chaos, and thus shall it again return into it; for whatever is composed has a beginning, a middle, and an end. Every part is in motion and exists, while love makes one single thing

[r] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 879. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 52. [s] Bruck. Hist. Philost. t. i. p. 1112. [t] Orat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 1 et 4. [u] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 13 et 17. p. 883. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 33. [x] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. c. 6. t. i. p. 322. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 844. [y] Bruck. t. p. 1115. Moshem. in Cudw. c. 1. § 13. t. i. p. 24 et 210. [z] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 336.

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of many, and hatred many things from one:[a] but the whole is stopped and dissolved when these two contrary principles are no longer in equilibrium. These reciprocal transitions from motion to rest, from the existence of bodies to their dissolution, return at periodical intervals.[b]

Gods and genii in the heavens,[c] particular souls in animals and plants, and a universal soul which pervades the world,[d] maintain in all things motion and life. These intelligences, the essence of which is a most pure and subtle fire, are subordinate to the Supreme Being, as a chorus of musicians is to its coryphæus, or an army to its general;[e] but, as they emanate from that being, the school of Pythagoras gives to them the name of divine substances;[f] and hence the expressions common with those philosophers: That the sage is a god;[g] that the Divine Being is the spirit and soul of the world;[h] that he penetrates, incorporates with, and vivifies matter.[i] We must beware, however, that we do not hence conclude, that the Divine Nature is separated into an infinity of parts. God is perfect unity;[k] he communicates himself, but he is not divided.

[a] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. c. 1. t. i. p. 408. [b] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 5. t. i. p. 319; lib. 8. c. 1. p. 409. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. c. 10. t. i. p. 447. [c] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 32. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 3. Hierocl. ibid. p. 16. Plut. de Placit. Philosoph. lib. 1. c. 8. t. ii. p. 882. [d] Bruck. t. i. p. 1113. [e] Onat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 4. Plut. ibid. p. 1. [f] Onat. ibid. p. 5. [g] Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. ultim. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 62. Bruck. p. 1107. [h] Onat. ibid. p. 4. [i] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 11. t. ii. p. 405. Id. de Senect. c. 21. t. iii. p. 319. [k] Beausobr. Hist. du Manich. liv. 5. t. ii. p. 170.

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He resides in the most exalted region of the heavens. The inferior gods, the ministers of his will, preside in the stars; the genii on the earth, and in the space by which it is immediately surrounded. In the spheres nearest to his abode all is good and all is order, because the most perfect beings have been placed near his throne, and are implicitly obedient to the destiny, I mean the laws which he has himself established.[l] Disorder begins to be perceived in the intermediary spaces; and evil gains an entire ascendancy over good[m] in the sublunary region, because there are deposited the sediment and dregs of all those substances which the multiplied struggles of hatred and love have been unable to bring to their perfection.[n] Here four principal causes influence our actions; God, our will, destiny, and fortune.[o] God, because he extends his care to us;[p] our will, because we deliberate before we act; and destiny and fortune,[q] because our projects are frequently overthrown by events conformable, or apparently contrary, to established laws.

We have two souls, the one sensitive, gross, corruptible, and perishable, which is composed of the four elements; and the other intelligent, indissoluble, and which is an emanation from the Deity himself.[r] I shall only speak of the latter, which establishes the

[l] Bruck. Hist. Phil. t. i. p. 1084. [m] Ocell. Lucan. c. 2. [n] Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. [o] Id. ibid. Bruck. ibid. [p] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 27. Ammon. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1115. [q] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 4. t. i. p. 332, &c. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1317. [r] Bruck. t. i. p. 1117.

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most intimate relation between us and the gods, the genii, animals, plants, and all beings, the souls of which have a common origin with ours.[s] Thus all animated nature is only one single family, of which God is the head.

On this affinity is founded the doctrine of the metempsychosis, a doctrine which we have borrowed from the Egyptians,[t] which some admit with different modifications, and with which Empedocles has believed he might be permitted to intermingle the fictions that adorn poetry.

This opinion supposes the fall, punishment, and restoration of souls.[u] Their number is limited;[x] their destiny to live happy in some one of the planets. If they become polluted with guilt, they are exiled to the earth. Then, condemned to be enveloped with gross matter, they pass continually from one body to another, suffering the calamities annexed to all the conditions of life, unable to endure their new state, and so miserable as to have forgotten their primitive dignity.[y] When death has broken the bonds by which they were enchained to matter, one of the celestial genii takes charge of them, and conducts to the infernal shades, and delivers over for a time to the furies, those who have been defiled with atrocious crimes;[z] but transports to the stars those who

[s] Bruck. t. i. p. 1118. [t] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 123. [u] Bruck. t. i. p. 1091. Moshem. in Cudw. c. 1. § 31. p. 64. [x] Bruck. ibid. p. 1092. [y] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607. Id. de Esu Carn. p. 996. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 112. Bruck. t. i. p. 1118. [z] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 31. Bruck. t. i. p. 1092.

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have walked in the way of justice. But often the immutable decrees of the gods subject both to the most rigorous trials. Their exile and their peregrinations endure for thousands of years,[a] and only end when, by a more regular conduct, they have merited to rejoin their author, and to partake, in some measure, with him of the honours of divinity.[b]

Empedocles thus describes the torments which he himself pretended to have suffered. "I have appeared successively under the form of a young man, a maiden, a plant, a bird, and a fish.[c] In one of these transmigrations, I for some time wandered like an airy phantom in the expanse of the heavens; but suddenly I was several times precipitated into the sea, thrown again upon the land, hurled into the sun, and again repelled into vortices of air.[d] An object of abhorrence to myself and other beings, all the elements rejected me as a slave who had absconded from the eye of his master." [e]

Meton, as he concluded, observed that the greater part of these idess were common to the disciples of Pythagoras, but that Empedocles was the first who had imagined the alternate destruction and reproduction of the world, taught that the four elements were the principles of things,[f] and put these elements in action by the assistance of love and hatred.

[a] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 123. Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607. [b] Hierocl. Aur. Carm. v. ult. Bruck. t. i. p. 1094. [c] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 77. Anthol. lib. 1. p. 127. Ælian de Animal. lib. 12. c. 7. [d] Emped. ap. Plut. de vit. Ære alien. t. ii. p. 830. [e] Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607. [f] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 845.

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You will now admit, said Anaxarchus to me, with a smile, that Democritus had reason to say that Truth is concealed in a pit of immense depth.[g] And you will also admit, answered I, that she would be much astonished were she to come again upon the earth, especially in Greece. She would soon leave us once more, replied Euclid; we should mistake her for Error.

The preceding systems relate to the origin of the world. Philosophers are not less divided concerning the state of our globe after its formation, and the revolutions which it has undergone to the present time. It was long submerged, said Anaxarchus, beneath the waters of the ocean; the heat of the sun caused a part of them to evaporate, and the earth appeared.[h] From the mud which remained on its surface, and in which the same heat excited a fermentation, the different species of plants and animals derived their origin. We still see a remarkable example of this in Egypt, where, after the inundation of the Nile, the mud and slime deposited on the fields produce an infinite number of small animals.[i] I doubt the fact, said I. I have been told the same story in the Thebaïs; but I was never able to satisfy myself of its truth by my own observation. We should make no difficulty to admit it, answered Euclid, since we attribute no other origin to certain species of fish than the mud and sand of the sea.

[g] Cicer. Quæst. Acad. lib. 1. c. 12. t. ii. p. 75. [h] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 1. t. i. p. 549. Anaxim. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 896. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 7 et 8. [k] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. c. 15. t. i. p. 871.

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Anaxarchus continued; I have said that, in a series of ages, the quantity of the waters which covered the earth was diminished by the action of the sun. The same cause continually subsisting, a time must arrive when the sea shall be totally exhausted.[l] I seem in fact, replied Euclid, to hear Æsop relating to his pilot the following fable; Charybdis has twice opened his enormous mouth, and twice the waters which covered the earth have rushed into his bowels; the first time the mountains appeared, the second the islands, and at the third the ocean shall disappear.[m] Is it possible that Democritus should have been ignorant that, though an immense quantity of vapours are raised by the heat of the sun, they are soon converted into rain, fall again upon the earth, and rapidly hasten to restore to the sea the water it had lost?[n] Can you deny, said Anaxarchus, that fields now laden with harvests were formerly hidden beneath the waters? But since the sea has been forced to abandon them, it must be diminished in quantity. If, in certain places, answered Euclid, the land has gained on the sea, in others the sea has gained on the land.[o]

Anaxarchus was preparing to reply, but I interrupted him. I now, said I to Euclid, understand why shell are found in mountains and in the bowels of the earth, and why we find petrified fish in the

[l] Democr. ap. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. iii. t. i. p. 554. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Aristot. ibid. lib. 2. c. 2. p. 552. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 546 et 548.

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quarries of Syracuse.[p] The sea has a slow and regular progress, by which it proceeds over all the regions of our globe: it will one day, no doubt, overwhelm Athens, Lacedæmon, and the greatest cities of Greece. If this idea is not very flattering to the nations which aspire to eternal celebrity, it at least reminds us of those astonishing revolutions of the heavenly bodies concerning which I have heard the Egyptian priests discourse. Has it been possible to fix the period of those of the sea?

Your imagination grows heated, replied Euclid: be more calm. The sea and continent, according to us, are like two great empires, which never change their place, though they frequently dispute the possession of some small frontier countries. Sometimes the sea is forced to retire by the mud and sand which the rivers bring down into it, and sometimes it drives them back by the action of its waves and other causes. In Acarnania, in the plain of Ilion, near Ephesus and Miletus, the accumulations of earth at the mouths of rivers have added greatly to the land.[q]

When I crossed the Palus Mæötis, answered I, I was informed that the mud and slime deposited continually by the Tanaïs had so raised the bottom of the lake, that, for some years past, the vessels intended for the trade of that sea were built smaller

[p] Xen. ap. Origen. Philosoph. c. 14. t. i. p. 893. [q] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 10. Strab. lib. 1. p. 58; lib. 13. p. 595 et 598. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 37.

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than they formerly were.[r] I can adduce a still more remarkable example, replied Euclid: all that part of Egypt which extends, from north to south, from the sea to the Thebaïs, is the work and a gift of the Nile. This whole country, in ancient times, was a gulf, which extended in a direction almost parallel to that of the Red Sea;[s] but the Nile has filled it up with the beds of slime which it annually deposits. The fact is proved not only by the traditions of the Egyptians, the nature of the soil, the shells found in the mountains situated above Memphis,[t] * but also by an observation which shows that, notwithstanding its actual rise, the soil of Egypt has not yet attained to the level of the neighbouring countries. Sesostris, Necos, Darius, and other princes, having endeavoured to cut canals of communication between the Red Sea and the Nile, perceived that the surface of that sea was higher than the land of Egypt.[u]

While the sea suffers some part of its dominions to be wrested from it, on its frontiers, it indemnifies

[r] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 14. t. i. p. 549. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 308. [s] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 11. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. p. 548. Strab. lib. 1. p. 50; lib. 12. p. 536. Ephor. ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 37. Diod. lib. 3. p. 144. [t] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 12. * The ancients believed that a great part of Egypt was the work of the Nile: the moderns are divided on this question. (See Bochard. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 24. col. 261. Frer. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xvi. p. 333. Wood's Essay on the Original Genius of Homer, p. 103. Bruce's Travels, book 6. chap. 16, &c. &c.) [u] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 158. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 14. t. i. p. 548. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 29.

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itself for the loss by encroachments on the land in other places. Its continual efforts open to it a passage through parts of the land, which it silently but incessantly corrodes. The sea, according to every appearance, has separated Sicily from Italy,[x] Eubœa from Bœotia,[y] and a number of other islands from the neighbouring continent. Extensive countries have been swallowed up by a sudden irruption of its waves. These terrifying revolutions have not been described by our historians, because history only extends to a few moments of the life of nations; but they sometimes left indelible traces in the memory of a people.

If we journey into Samothrace, we shall be informed that the waters of the Pontus Euxinus, long enclosed in a basin shut in on all sides, and incessantly increased by the rivers of Europe and Asia, forced open the passages of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and, impetuously rushing into the Ægean Sea, extended its limits at the expense of the surrounding shores. Festivals instituted in the island still preserve the memory of the calamity with which the inhabitants were threatened, and from which they were preserved by the providence of the gods.[z] If we consult mythology, we shall be told that Hercules, whose labours have been confounded with those of Nature, separated Europe from Africa. Is it not meant, by this fable, that the Atlantic Ocean de-

[x] Æschyl. ap. Strab. lib. 6. p. 258. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxvii. p. 66. [y] Strab. lib. 1. p. 60. [z] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 322.

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stoyed the isthmus which united these two parts of the earth, and opened to itself a communication with the Mediterranean Sea ?[a]

Other causes have multiplied these calamitous and wonderful effects. Beyond the strait of which I have just spoken, there existed, according to ancient traditions, an island as large as Asia and Africa, which, with all its wretched inhabitants, was swallowed up by an earthquake in the unfathomable gulfs of the Atlantic Ocean.[b] How many countries have been deluged by the waters of Heaven ! How often have impetuous winds covered fertile plains with mountains of sand ! The air, water, and fire, seem to have conspired against the earth. Yet these terrible catastrophes, which menace the whole world with impending ruin, affect only some points of the surface of a globe which is itself but as a point in the universe.[c]

We have seen above that the sea and land seize, by right of conquest, on the domains of each other, and by consequence at the expense of unhappy mortals. The waters which flow over, or remain stagnant on, the earth, do not produce less alterations on its surface. Not to mention the rivers which by turns carry plenty or desolation through a country, we must observe that, at different periods, the same land is surcharged, sufficiently supplied with, or absolutely deprived of, the water necessary to fertilise it. At

[a] Stat. ap. Strab. lib. 1. p. 49. Plin. lib. 3. c. 1. t. i. p. 135.
[b] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 25 ; in Crit. p. 112, &c. [c] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 14. t. i. p. 548.

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the time of the Trojan war, the environs of Argos were a marshy ground, with but few inhabitants to cultivate it; while the territory of Mycenæ, abounding in all the principles of vegetation, produced luxuriant harvests, and was extremely populous. But the heat of the sun, having, during eight centuries, absorbed the superfluous humidity of the former of these districts, and the moisture necessary to the fecundity of the latter, has rendered sterile the fields of Mycenæ, and bestowed fertility on those of Argos.[d]

What nature has here effected on a small scale, she has operated on a larger over the whole earth, which she has incessantly deprived, by the action of the sun, of the juices that fertilise it. But as they must thus at length be totally exhausted, she causes, from time to time, deluges which, like severe winters, quickly repair the losses that certain regions have suffered during a long succession of ages.[e]

This hypothesis is confirmed by the annals of our history, in which we find men, who had no doubt escaped from the wreck of their nation, erect their dwellings on eminences,[f] construct mounds, and give a course to the waters which had remained stagnant on the plains. Thus, in the most ancient times, a king of Lacédæmon collected in one channel the waters with which Laconia was covered, and formed the river Eurotas.[g]

From these remarks, we may presume that the

[d] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 14. t. i. p. 547. [e] Id. ibid. p. 548. [f] Id. ibid. p. 547. Plut. ap. Strab. lib. 13. p. 592. [g] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 204.

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Nile, the Tanaïs, and all rivers, though they have been called eternal, were at first only lakes, formed in sterile plains by sudden inundations, and afterwards compelled, by the industry of men or some other cause, to make themselves a way over the lands.[h] We may also presume that they abandoned their channel, when new revolutions forced them to spread themselves over places which are now dry and desert. Such is, according to Aristotle, the distribution of the waters which nature has bestowed on the different regions of the earth.

But where does she reserve them before she manifests them to our eyes, and where has she placed the origin of fountains and rivers? She has dug, say some, immense reservoirs in the entrails of the earth, into which, in a great measure, the waters of heaven penetrate and from whence they flow in greater or less abundance and continuity, according to the capacity of the receptacle in which they are contained.[i] But, reply their opponents, what receptacle could ever be sufficiently spacious to contain that prodigious quantity of water which the great rivers pour forth during a whole year? Though we should admit subterranean cavities for the surplus of the rains; yet, as these cannot suffice for the daily expense of the rivers and fountains, we must acknowledge that, at all times, and in every place, the air, or rather the vapour with which it is loaded, condensed by cold, is converted into water in the bosom of the earth, and on its sur-

[h] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 14. t. i. p. 549. [i] Id. ibid. c. 13. t. i. p. 554.

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face, as it is changed into rain in the atmosphere. This operation is still more easily performed on the mountains, because their superficies arrest a prodigious quantity of vapours in their passage; and it is therefore remarked that the greatest mountains give birth to the greatest rivers.[k]

Anaxarchus and Meton having taken leave of Euclid, I remained, and requested him to communicate to me some of his ideas on that part of physics which particularly considers the essence, properties, and reciprocal action, of bodies. This science, replied Euclid, has some relation to that of divination. The object of the one is to explain the intention of Nature in ordinary cases; and that of the other, to interpret the will of the gods by extraordinary events: but the discoveries of the former must sooner or later detect the imposture of its rival. A time shall come when those prodigies which alarm the vulgar shall be classed among the ordinary productions of nature, or when the present blindness of the multitude shall alone be considered as a kind of prodigy.

The effects of nature being infinitely varied, and their causes infinitely obscure, natural philosophy has hitherto only been able to hazard conjectures. There is, perhaps, no truth of which it has not had a glimpse, nor any absurdity which it has not advanced. It ought therefore at present to confine itself to observations, and refer the conclusions from them to future ages. Yet, though scarcely out of its infancy, it has already manifested the indiscretion and pre-

[k] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 13. t. i. p. 545.

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sumption of a more advanced age; it runs where it ought only to creep; and, notwithstanding the rigid rules which it has prescribed to itself, we every day see it erect systems on mere probabilities, or on frivolous appearances.

I shall not here repeat what the different schools have said on each of the phænomena which are the objects of our senses. If I stop to explain the theory, it is because nothing appears to me to give a more just idea of the sagacity of the Greek philosophers. It is of little importance whether their principles were well or ill founded; they may perhaps one day be censured for the inaccuracy of their notions on natural philosophy, but it will at least be acknowledged that they erred like men of genius.

How was it possible that the first philosophers, who wished to gain a knowledge of the constituent principles of sensiblebeings,should flatter themselves that they should be successful in their inquiries? Art furnishes no means to analyse these beings. Division, how long so ever it may be continued, presents to the eye or imagination of the observer only surfaces more or less extended: yet it seemed apparent, after repeated trials, that there were in nature two species of bodies, simple and compound; that the latter were only the result of the combination of the former; and, in a word, that the simple bodies preserved in the compound the same affections and the same properties which they before possessed. The path was then opened, and it appeared essential first to study the nature of simple bodies. The following are some ob-

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servations that have been made on this subject. I received them from Aristotle.

The earth, water, air, and fire, are the elements of all bodies; thus every body may be resolved into some of these elements.[l]

The elements, being simple bodies, cannot be divided into bodies of another nature; but they mutually generate each other, and are incessantly changed one into the other.[m]

It is impossible precisely to ascertain in what proportion these constituent principles are combined in each body; it is therefore only by conjecture that Empedocles has said that a bone is composed of two parts of water, two of earth, and four of fire.[n]

We were not better acquainted with the form of the integral parts of the elements; those who have endeavoured to determine this question have laboured without success. To explain the properties of fire, some have said that its particles must be of a pyramidal figure, and others, that they must be spherical. The solidity of the globe which we inhabit has caused the cubical form to be assigned to the terrestrial element.[o]

The elements possess in themselves a principle of motion and rest which is inherent in them.[p]—This principle compels the element of earth to tend towards

[l] Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 3. c. 3. t. i. p. 477. [m] Id. ibid. c. 4. p. 479. Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 10. t. i. p. 525. Mosheim. in Cudw. t. i. p. 24. [n] Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. c. 7. t. i. p. 627. [o] Id. de Cœl. lib. 3. c. 8. p. 483. [p] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. c. 1. t. i. p. 327. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 432.

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the centre of the universe, the water to raise itself above the earth, the air to ascend above the water, and the fire to mount above the air.[q] Thus positive gravity, without any mixture of levity, appertains only to the earth; and positive levity, without any mixture of gravity, only to fire; the two intermediary elements, air and water, have with relation to the two extremes, only a relative gravity and levity, since they are lighter than earth, and heavier than fire. The relative gravity is no longer perceived when the element which possesses it descends into a region inferior to its own; thus the air loses its gravity in the water, and the water in the earth.[r]

You are of opinion, then, said I to Euclid, that the air is heavy? It cannot be doubted, answered he; a bladder, when inflated, weighs more than when it contains no air.[s]

To the four elements are annexed four essential properties, cold, heat, dryness, and humidity. The two former are active, the two latter passive.[t]—Of these, each element possesses two: earth is cold and dry, water cold and moist, air hot and moist, and fire dry and hot.[u] The opposition of these qualities promotes the designs of Nature, who always works by contraries, and therefore are they the only agents which she employs to produce all her effects.[x]

The elements which have a common property

[q] Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 489. [r] Id. ibid. p. 490. [s] Id. ibid. [t] Id. Meteor. lib. 4. c. 1. t. i. p. 583. [u] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 516. [x] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. c. 6. t. i. p. 321. Plut. adv. Col. t. ii. p. 1111.

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are easily changed one into another; it suffices for this to destroy in either the property by which they differ.[y] Should any external cause deprive water of its coldness, and communicate warmth to it, it will be warm and moist, and will then possess the two characteristic properties of air, and will no longer be distinguishable from that element; this is effected by ebullition, which causes the water to evaporate and ascend into the region of the air. If another cause should there deprive it of its heat, and restore to it its natural coldness, it will re-assume its original form, and fall again to the earth; which is the case when it rains. In like manner, if earth loses its frigidity, it will be changed into fire; and, if it be deprived of its dryness, transmuted into water.[z]

The elements which have no common quality are also reciprocally changed into each other; but these permutations are more rare and slow.[a]

From these observations, supported by facts, or inductions,[b] it will be easily conceived that compound bodies must be more or less heavy, according as they contain a greater or less number of particles of the elements which have positive or relative gravity.[c] If, of two bodies of an equal size, we find that one is heavier than the other, we shall conclude that the terrestrial element predominates in the former, and water or air in the latter.

[y] Aristot. de Gener. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 517. [z] Id. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 4. t. i. p. 558. [a] Id. de Generat. lib. 2. c. 4. t. i. p. 517. [b] Id. Meteor. lib. 4. c. 1. t. i. p. 583. [c] Id. de Cœl. lib. 4. c. 4. t. i. p. 490.

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Water is evaporated by heat, and frozen by cold; hence the liquids subject to the same vicissitudes will be, in a great measure, composed of that element.[d] Heat dries and hardens the earth, and thus all bodies on which it acts in the same manner will be principally composed of the terrestrial element.

From the nature of the four elements, and their essential properties, which are, as I have said, heat, cold, dryness, and humidity, are derived, not only the gravity and levity, but also the density and rarity, softness and hardness, fragility, flexibility, and all the other qualities, of compound bodies.[e] Hence we are able to account for their continual changes, and to explain the phænomena of heaven, and the productions of the earth. In the heavens the meteors,[f] and in the bosom of our globe the fossils, metals, &c. are only the productions of dry exhalations or humid vapours.[g]

The following example will show, in the clearest manner, the use which is made of the preceding notions. Natural philosophers were divided concerning the cause of earthquakes: Democritus, among others, attributed them to abundant rains, which penetrated the earth, and which, on certain occasions (the vast reservoirs of water that have been imagined in the bowels of the globe not being able to contain them), made violent efforts to escape.[h]—Aristotle, conformably to the principles above inculcated, asserts,

[d] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 4. c. 10. t. i. p. 597. [e] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 2. c. 1. t. i. p. 976. Id. Meteor. lib. 4. c. 2, 3, &c. t. i. p. 585. [f] Id. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 558. [g] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 6. p. 583. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 7. t. i. p. 566.

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on the contrary, that the rain-water, rarefied by the internal heat of the earth, or by that of the sun, is converted into a quantity of air, which, finding no issue, shakes and raises the super-incumbent strata of the globe.[i]

The ancient philosophers, wished to know how things had been made, before they endeavoured to discover what their actual properties are.[k] The book of Nature was open before their eyes; but, instead of reading it, they undertook to comment on it. After long and useless labours, it was at length perceived, that to be acquainted with animals, plants, and the various productions of Nature, it was necessary to study them with unwearied assiduity. The result has been a body of observations, and a new science more curious, fruitful, and interesting, than ancient physics. If a philosopher, after having long studied the nature of animals, should wish to communicate to others the fruits of his researches, he ought to be able perfectly to discharge two essential duties; first that of the historian, and afterwards that of the commentator.

As an historian, he should treat of their size, shape, colour, nutriment, disposition, and manners; he should be able to explain anatomically the structure of their bodies, which should be known to him by means of dissection.[l]

As a commentator, he should excite our admira-

[i] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 8. [k] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 967 et 968. [l] Id. de Anim. Incess. c. 7. t. i. p. 738. Id. Hist. Anim. lib. 2. c. 11. t. i. p. 785.

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tion by explaining the wisdom of Nature[m] in the adaptation of their organs to the uses for which they were intended, to the element in which each creature is to live, and to the principle of life by which it is animated;[n] and he should be able to point out the same wise contrivance in the action of the different springs which produce motion,[o] and in the means employed to preserve and perpetuate each species.[p]

However limited the study of the celestial and eternal bodies may be, it more excites our transports than that of terrestrial and perishable substances. It may be said, that the view of the heavens makes the same impression on the natural philosopher as beauty makes on a man who, to obtain the object of whom he is enamoured, would willingly consent to close his eyes on the rest of the world.[q] But if philosophy, in ascending to the superior regions, astonishes us by the sublimity of her discoveries, at least while she remains on earth she delights us by the profusion of knowledge which she procures us, and which indemnifies us with interest for all the toil it may have cost us. What charms, in fact, does not Nature diffuse over the labours of the philosopher, who, convinced that she does nothing in vain,[r] has been able to discover the secret of her operations, who every where recognises the impress of her greatness, and imitates not

[m] Aristot. de Part. Anim. passim. [n] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 5. t. i. p. 976. [o] Id. de Anim. Incess. t. i. p. 733. [p] Id. de Gener. t. i. p. 493. [q] Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 5. t. i. p. 974. [r] Id. de Cœl. lib. 2. c. 11. t. i. p. 463. Id. de Anim. Incess. c. 2. t. i. p. 734.

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the puerile pride of those minds who disdain to cast down their eyes upon an insect?—Some strangers coming to consult Heraclitus, found him near an oven, where he had taken refuge from the rigours of the season. As they stopped on the threshold of the door, from a kind of shame, he cried out to them, "Enter! the immortal gods do not disdain to honour these places with their presence." The majesty of Nature in like manner ennobles the beings which are most vile in our eyes; every where this common mother acts with profound wisdom, and by ways which lead with certainty to the ends she has proposed.[8]

When we glance over the infinite number of her productions, we immediately perceive that, to study them with profit, discern their relations, and describe them with accuracy, it is necessary to arrange them in a certain order, and distribute them first into a small number of classes, such as those of animals, plants, and minerals. If we afterwards examine each of these classes, we shall find that the beings of which they are composed, having between themselves resemblances and differences more or less sensible, should be divided and subdivided into various species, until we arrive at individuals.

Scales of this kind would be easy to form, if it were possible exactly to ascertain the transition from one species to another; but these changes being made

[8] Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 5. t. i. p. 975.

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in an imperceptible manner,[t] we incessantly risk confounding what ought to be distinguished, and distinguishing what is in reality not different. This is the defect of the methods which have hitherto been made public;[u] and in which we see with surprise certain birds classed among aquatic animals, or in a species equally foreign to their nature. The authors of these schemes have been mistaken in their principle; they have judged of the whole by the part. Thus some, taking wings for a specific difference, have divided all animals into two great families, the one containing those which have wings, and the other those which have not; without perceiving that, among individuals of the same species, as for example ants, there are some which have wings, and others which have them not.[x]

The division of animals into domestic and wild, though adopted by some naturalists, is equally defective; for man, and the animals which he has been able to tame, do not specifically differ from the man, the horse, and the dog, that live in the woods.[y]

Every division, to be exact, ought to establish a real difference between the objects which it distinguishes; and every difference, to be specific, ought to unite in one single and same species all the individuals which appertain to it;[z] that is to say, all

[t] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. c. 1. t. i. p. 897. [u] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 971. [x] Id. ibid. [y] Id. ibid. p. 972. [z] Id. ibid. p. 971.

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those w ich are absolutely alike, or which differ only by more or less.

As these conditions are very difficult to fulfil,[a] Aristotle has conceived a plan which unites all the advantages, without any of the inconveniences, of the preceding methods. He will explain it in one of his treatises;[b] and this treatise will certainly be the work of the man of industry who omits nothing, and the man of genius who sees every thing.*

Among the observations with which he will enrich his history of animals, there are some which he has communicated to me, and which I shall here repeat, that you may know in what manner nature is at present studied.

1st. Considering animals with respect to the countries they inhabit, it has been found that wild ones are more ferocious in Asia, stronger in Europe, and more varied in their forms in Africa, which, according to the proverb, is ever productive of some new monster.[c]—Those which live on the mountains are more mischievous than those of the plains.[d] I know not, however, whether this difference proceeds from the places which they inhabit, or from the defect of food; for in Egypt, where several kinds of animals are provided with sustenance, the most

[a] Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 974. [b] Id. Hist. Anim. t. i p. 761. * M. de Buffon has extremely well explained this plan in the Preface to the first volume of his Natural History. [c] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. c. 28. t. i. p. 920. A. [d] Id. ibid. c. 20. p. 920. C.

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fierce and the gentlest live quietly together, and the crocodile licks the hand of the priest who brings him food.[e]

The climate has a powerful influence on their manners.[f] Extreme cold or heat renders them ferocious and cruel.[g] The winds, waters, and the aliments on which they subsist, are sometimes sufficient to produce considerable differences.[h] The nations of the South are timed and abject, those of the North courageous and confident; but the former are more enlightened, perhaps because they are more ancient, perhaps also because they are more softened and enfeebled; for, in fact, men of daring and ardent passions are rarely tormented with the restless desire of obtaining knowledge.[i]

The same cause which produces these moral differences among men, acts also on their organisation. Among other proofs of this observation, it may be remarked, that the colour of the eye is commonly blue in cold, and black in hot countries.[k]

2d. Birds are very sensible of the rigours of the seasons.[l] At the approach of winter or of summer, some descend into the plain, or retire to the mountains; others depart into distant countries, to breathe a more temperate air. Thus, to avoid the excess of heat and cold, the Persian monarch successively

[e] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 9. c. 1. p. 923. [f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747. [g] Aristot. Problem. sect. 14. t. ii. p. 750. [h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747. [i] Aristot. Problem. sect 14. t. ii. p. 752. [k] Id. ibid. p. 751. [l] Id. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. c. 12. t. i. p. 908.

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removes his court to the northern and the southern provinces of his empire.[m]

The time of the departure and return of birds is always about the equinoxes. The weakest lead the van. They almost all go together, and as it were in tribes; and have sometimes a long journey to perform before they arrive at the place of their destination. The cranes come from Scythia, and direct their course to the marshes in Upper Egypt, and the places where the Nile has its source, and where the pygmies are found.—How! said I, do you believe in the existence of pygmies? Are they still at war with the cranes, as they were in Homer's time?[n] That war, replied he, is a fiction of the poet, which will not be adopted by the historian of nature.* The pygmies, however, really exist; they are a race of men who are very small, as are likewise their horses; they are black, and live in caves, after the manner of the Troglodytæ.[o]

The same cause, added Euclid, which compels certain birds annually to exchange one country for another, acts likewise in the depths of the waters.[p] At Byzantium we see, at stated times, several species of fish sometimes ascend towards the Pontus Euxinus,

[m] Xen. Instit. Cyr. lib. 8. p. 233. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 604. Athen. lib. 12. p. 513. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 3. c. 13. [n] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 4. * Aristotle has not related this fable, though he has been accused of it by some writers, on the authority of the Latin translation. [o] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. c. 12. p. 907. Herodot. lib. 2. c. 32. Nonnos. ap. Phot. p. 8. Ctesias. ap. eund. p. 144. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 306. [p] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. c. 13. p. 909.

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and at other seasons descend into the Ægean Sea; they go in a collective body, like the birds; and their route, like human life, is marked by the snares which await them in their passage.

3d. Researches have been made into the duration of the life of animals; and it has been thought that, in many species, the females live longer than the males. But, without attending to this difference, we may affirm, that dogs commonly live fourteen or fifteen, and sometimes even twenty years;[q] oxen about the same time;[r] horses usually eighteen or twenty, sometimes thirty, or even fifty;[s] asses above thirty;[t] * camels above fifty,[u] † and sometimes even to a hundred;[x] elephants according to some, live two hundred years, and, according to others, three hundred.[y] It was anciently pretended that the stag lived four times the age of the crow, and the latter nine times the age of man.[z] All that is at present certainly known with respect to the stag is, that the time of gestation and the rapid growth of that animal, will not permit us to suppose that it is very long-lived.[a]

Nature sometimes produces exceptions to her general laws. The Athenians will tell you of a mule

[q] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. c. 20. t. i. p. 878. Buff. Hist. Nat. t. v. p. 223. [r] Aristot. ibid. c. 21. p. 879. [s] Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 880. [t] Id. ibid. cap. 23. p. 881. * According to M. de Buffon, asses, like horses, live twenty-five or thirty years (Hist. Natur. t. iv. p. 226.) [u] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. c. 26. p. 882. † According to M. de Buffon, forty or fifty years (t. ii. p. 239.) [x] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. c. 9. p. 906. [y] Id. ibid. [z] Hesiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415. [a] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. c. 29. p. 883.

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which died at the age of eighty years. At the time the temple of Minerva was built it was set at liberty, and released from all further labour, on account of its great age; but it still continued to go before the others, animating them by its example, and seeking to partake in their toil. The dealers in the markets were, by a decree of the people, forbidden to drive it away when it approached the baskets of grain or fruits which they exposed to sale.[b]

4th. It has been remarked, as I have said above, that nature passes from one genus or species to another by imperceptible gradations;[c] and that from man to the most insensible beings, all her productions seem to form one closely connected series.

Let us begin with minerals, which constitute the first link of the chain. I behold only a matter which is passive, sterile, unorganised, and consequently without wants and without functions. Presently I seem to discern in certain plants a kind of motion, some obscure sensations, a spark of life; and in all a constant reproduction, but deprived of those maternal cares by which it is cherished. I repair to the shores of the sea, and am inclined to doubt whether its shell-fish belong to the class of animals or to that of vegetables. Again I return, and the signs of life multiply around me. I see beings that move, respire, and are influenced by passions and duties. If there are some that, like the plants of which I

[b] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 6. c. 24. p. 882. Plin. lib. 8. c. 44. t. i. p. 470. Plut. de Solert. Anim. t. ii. p. 970. [c] Aristot. ibid. lib. 8. c. 1. t. i. p. 897.

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have just spoken, are abandoned to chance from the moment of their birth, there are others whose education is attended to with more care. These live in society with the fruit of their loves; those are become strangers to their families. Several present to me the sketch of our manners: I find among them gentle and ungovernable dispositions; the signs of mildness, courage, audacity, barbarity, fear, and cowardice, and sometimes even the image of prudence and reason. We possess understand, wisdom, and the arts; and they have faculties which supply the place of these advantages.[d]

This succession of analogies at length conducts us to the extremity of the chain, where man is placed, Among the qualities which entitle him to the first rank, I remark two which are essential: the first is that understanding, which, while he lives, raises him to the contemplation of celestial things;[e] and the second his happy organisation, and especially the touch, the first, most necessary, and most exquisite of our senses,[f] the source of industry, and the instrument most proper to second the operations of the mind. It is to the hand, said the philosopher Anaxagoras, that man owes a part of his superiority over other animals.[g]

But why, said I, do you place man at the extremity

[d] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 897; lib. 9. c. 7. p. 928. [e] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 140. [f] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 987. De Sens. c. 4. t. i. p. 668. Hist. Anim. lib. 1. c. 15. t. i. p. 773. De Anim. lib. 2. c. 9. t. i. p. 642; lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 661. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316. [g] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 478.

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of the chain? Is the immense space which separates him from the Divine Being only one vast desert? The Egyptians, the Chaldean magi, the Phrygians, and the Thracians, fill this interval with beings as much superior to us as we are to the brutes.[h]

I meant, replied Euclid, only to speak of visible beings. It is to be presumed that there are above us an infinite number of others who escape our sight. From the rudest kind of existence, we have ascended by imperceptible degrees to our own species; and, in proceeding from that limit to the Divinity, we must, no doubt, pass through different orders of intelligences, by so much the more glorious and pure as they approach nearer to the throne of the Eternal Being.

This opinion, which is conformable to the progress of nature, is equally ancient and general among various nations. From them we have borrowed it; and we believe the earth and the heavens to be filled with genii, to whom the Supreme Being has confided the government of the universe.[i]—We distribute them throughout all animated nature, but principally in those regions which extend around and above us, from the earth to the sphere of the moon. There, exercising an extensive authority, they dispense life and death, good and evil, light and darkness. Each nation and each individual find in these

[h] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 4. t. ii. p. 1003. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 415. [i] Pythag. ap. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 8. § 32. Thales ap. eund. lib. 1. § 27. Id ap. Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. c. 8. t. i. p. 628. Id. ap. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 11. t. iii. p. 145. Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 899.

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invisible agents a friend anxious to protect, or an enemy ardent to persecute them. They are clothed with an aërial body,[k] and their essence is of a middle nature, between the divine and human.[l]—They excel us in intelligence. Some are subject to like passions with us,[m] and the greater part to changes by which they pass to a superior order; for the innumerable multitude of spirits is divided into four principal classes: the first is that of the gods, who are the objects of adoration, and who reside in the stars; the second, that of the genii, properly so called; the third, that of the heroes, who, during their lives, have rendered great services to mankind; and the fourth, that of the souls of men after they are separated from their bodies. We decree to the three former classes honours in which we ourselves shall one day participate, and which will raise us successively to the dignities of heroes, genii and gods.[n]

Euclid, who understood no better than I the motives of these promotions, added, that certain genii were, like us, a prey to inquietudes, and, like us, subjected to death.[o] I asked him what duration had been assigned to their life. According to Hesiod, answered he, the genii live several thousand years; and, according to Pindar, a hamadryad dies with the tree in which it is inclosed.[p]

Sufficient attention, replied I, has not been paid

[k] Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 431. [l] Id. ibid. p. 415. [m] Id. ibid. p. 416. [n] Hesiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415. Pythag. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 23. [o] Plut. ibid. p. 419. [p] Id. ibid. p. 415.

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to this most interesting subject: it would, however, be of importance could we learn the degree of authority which these intelligences exercise over us. Perhaps we ought to attribute to them many effects, of the causes of which we are ignorant: they are perhaps the authors of many unforeseen events, both in games of chance, and in political affairs. I confess I am disgusted with the history of men, and could wish that of these invisible beings might be written. Here comes one, answered Euclid, who can furnish you with excellent materials for such a work.

The Pythagorean Telisicles entering at the same moment, informed himself of the subject of our conversation, and seemed surprised that we had never seen any genii.[q] It is true, said he, they only manifest themselves to souls who have been long prepared by meditation and prayer.—He afterwards confessed that his own sometimes honoured him with his presence; and that, yielding one day to his repeated intreaties, he had conveyed him into the region of spirits. Condescend, said I, to relate to us the circumstances of your journey: I conjure you *in the name of him who taught the powers of the numbers* 1, 2, 3, 4.[r] * Telisicles immediately complied with my request, and began as follows:

The moment of departure being arrived, I felt

[q] Aristot. ap. Apul. de Deo Socrat. t. ii. p. 83. [r] Iamblich. c. 28. p. 127; c. 29. p. 138. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 47. Hierocl. ibid. p. 170. * That is to say, *in the name of Pythagoras.* I have given the form of adjuration in use among the disciples of that great man, who discovered the harmonical proportions in these numbers.

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my soul disengaged from the bonds which unite it to the body, and found myself in the midst of a new world of animated substances, good and malevolent,[s] cheerful and melancholy, prudent and rash. We followed them for some time; and I thought I could perceive that they directed the interests of states and those of individuals, the inquiries of sages, and the opinions of the multitude.[t]

Presently, a female figure, of gigantic stature, extended a sable pall over the vault of heaven; and, having slowly descended to the earth, gave her orders to her attendants who followed her. We entered several houses where Sleep and his ministers were profusely shedding their poppies; and while Silence and Peace were softly seated near the virtuous man, Remorse and terrifying spectres violently shook the bed of the villain. Plato wrote as the genius of Homer dictated to him, and pleasing dreams fluttered around the youthful Lycoris.

Aurora and the Hours, said my conductor to me, now unbar the gates of day; it is time for us to rise into the air. Behold the tutelary genii of Athens, Corinth, and Lacedæmon, who hover on the wing, and fly in circles above those cities.[u] They drive away from them, as far as is in their power, the evils by which they are menaced. Yet soon shall their fields be laid waste; for the genii of the south,

[s] Thal. Pythag. Plat. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 8. t. ii. p. 882. [t] Moshem. in Cudw. c. 4. § 34. p. 798. Bruck. t. i. p. 1113. [u] Pausan. lib. 8. c. 10. p. 620. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 35.

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enveloped in gloomy clouds, advance with hoarse clamours against those of the north.—Wars are as frequent in these regions as on earth; and the combat of the Titans and the Typhons was only a contest between two tribes of genii.[x]

Now observe those busy agents who, with a flight as rapid and restless as that of the swallow, skim the earth, and cast on every side their eager and piercing eyes. These are the inspectors of human affairs, some of whom diffuse gentle influences over the mortals they protect,[y] while others let loose the implacable Nemesis to punish the guilty.[z] Behold those mediators, those interpreters, who ascend and descend incessantly: they convey to the gods the vows and offerings of men, and bring back to earth happy or ill-boding dreams, and the secrets of futurity,[a] which are afterwards revealed to mankind by the oracles.

O my protector! suddenly exclaimed I; see yonder are beings whose stature and gloomy appearance inspire terror: they are coming towards us. Let us fly them, said he; they are wretched spirits, the happiness of others irritates them, and they only spare those who pass their lives in sufferings and in tears.[b]

Escaped from their fury, we met with other objects not less afflicting. Ate, the detestable Ate, the

[x] Plut. de Isid. t. ii. p. 360. Id. de Orac. Defect. p. 421. [y] Id. ibid. p. 417. Hesiod. ibid. [z] Tim. Locr. in Oper. Plat. t. iii. p. 105. [a] Plut. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 202 et 203. Plut. de Isid. t. ii. p. 361. Id. de Orac. Def. p. 416. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 32. [b] Xenocr. ap. Plut. de Isid. t. ii. p. 361.

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eternal source of the dissensions which torment men, fiercely stalked above their heads, and breathed into their hearts rage and vengeance;[c] while, with a timid step and downcast eyes, the Prayers followed in her footsteps, and endeavoured to restore peace wherever Discord had appeared.[d] Glory was followed by Envy, who at the same time gnawed her own sides; Truth by Imposture, who every instant changed her mask; and each virtue by several vices who carried nets or poniards.

On a sudden, Fortune appeared. I congratulated her on the gifts which she distributed to mortals. I give not, said she, in a stern tone; but I lend at great interest.[e] As she uttered these words, she dipped the flowers and fruits which she held in one hand into a cup of poison which she carried in the other.

Two powerful divinities then passed us, who left behind them long streams of light. These, said my conductor, are the impetuous Mars and the wise Minerva. Two armies are approaching each other in Bœötia: Minerva hastens to take her station by the side of Epaminondas, the general of the Thebans; and Mars flies to join the Lacedæmonians, who will be vanquished; for wisdom must ever triumph over valour.

Observe, at the same time, yon pair of genii who precipitately descend to earth. The one is a good, and the other an evil genius; they hasten to exert their power on a new-born infant: in this first mo-

[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 19. v. 91.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 9. v. 500.
[e] Bion. ap. Stob. Serm. 103. p. 563.

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ment of his existence they will contend with each other to give him all the good qualities or all the deformities of which the heart and mind are capable: and in the course of his life he will incline to good or evil, as the influence of the one shall prevail over that of the other.[f]

In the mean time, I beheld beings ascend and descend whose features appeared to me more gross than those of the genii. I was informed that these were souls which were about to be united to, or which had lately quitted, mortal bodies. On a sudden there appeared numerous swarms of them, which followed each other at intervals, and spread themselves through the wide fields of air, like clouds of a whitish dust. The battle is begun, said the genius; the blood flows in torrents. O blind and wretched mortals! Behold the souls of the Lacedæmonians and Thebans who perish in the fields of Leuctra! Whither are they going? said I. Follow me, answered he, and you shall know.

We passed the boundaries of the empire of darkness and of death; and, having proceeded beyond the sphere of the moon, arrived at the regions which are enlightened by eternal day. Let us stop a moment, said my guide. Survey the magnificent scene which surrounds us, and listen to the divine harmony that is produced by the regular motion of the heavenly bodies.[g]

[f] Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Anim. Tranquil. t. ii. p. 474. Xenocr. et Plat. ap. eund. de Orac. Def. p. 419. Van Dale de Orac. p. 6. [g] Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. c. 15. p. 52. Empedocl. ap. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. p. 35.

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Observe how each planet and each star is attended by a genius which directs its course. These stars are inhabited by sublime intelligences of a nature superior to ours.

While, fixing my eyes on the sun, I contemplated, with ravishing delight, the genius whose vigorous arm propels that resplendent globe along the path which it describes,[h] I saw him repulse with fury the greater part of the souls which we had met, permitting only a small number of them to plunge into the boiling waves of that luminary.[i] These latter, said my guide, are less guilty than the others, and will be purified by the flame; after which they will wing their way to the different stars, in which they were distributed at the time of the formation of the universe, where they will remain until the laws of nature recal them to the earth to animate other bodies.[k] But what, said I, shall be the destiny of those whom the genius has repulsed? They, answered he, must repair to the Field of Truth, where just judges will condemn the most criminal to the torments of Tartarus,[l] and the others to long and painful peregrinations. Then, directing my eyes, he showed me millions of souls, who, for thousands of years, had wandered mournfully in the air, and exhausted themselves in vain efforts to obtain an asylum in one of the celestial globes.[m]

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 819. [i] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 10. p. 329. Bruck. t. i. p. 296. [k] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42. [l] Axioch. ap. Plut. t. iii. p. 371. [m] Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 77.

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These, said he, can only arrive, like the first, at the place of their origin, after severe trials.[n]

Filled with commiseration at their sufferings, I intreated my guide to remove me from the sight of them, and conduct me toward a distant part of the heavens, whence issued rays of a most resplendent light. I hoped to obtain a glimpse of the sovereign of the universe, surrounded by the attendants of his throne, which our philosophers call numbers, eternal ideas, and immortal genii.[o] He inhabits, said the genius, a region inaccessible to mortals; offer to him your adoration, and let us descend to the earth.

After Telesicles had retired, I said to Euclid, By what name are we to call the discourse we have just heard? Is it a dream, or is it a fiction? It is certainly one or the other, answered he; but, in fact, Telesicles has advanced scarcely any thing which is not conformable to the opinions of the philosophers. We must do him justice: he might, by adopting those of the multitude, considerably have increased the population of the air; and have spoken concerning those shades which the art of diviners and sorcerers raises up from the recesses of the tomb;[p] of those unhappy souls which hover disquieted around their bodies deprived of burial; and of those gods and phantoms which roam the streets during the night to terrify or to devour children.[q]

[n] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42. [o] Anonym. de Vit. Pythag. ap. Phot. p. 1316. Beausobr. Hist. du Munich. t. i. p. 576. [p] Homer. Odyss. lib. 11. v. 37. [q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 381. Theocr. Idyl. 15. v. 40.

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I am obliged to him for this moderation, replied I: but I could wish that he had enlarged somewhat more on the nature of that beneficent being to which I appertain; and which, as has been said, God has appointed to watch over my thoughts and actions.[r] Why am I not permitted to know and to love him? Telesicles has already answered your question, replied Euclid. The happiness of seeing the genii is only permitted to pure souls. I have, however, heard, said I, of apparitions that have been seen by a whole people. Undoubtedly, answered Euclid; and of this kind was that, the tradition of which is still preserved in Italy, and which has been made the subject of a painting that I myself have seen. The tale is a tissue of absurdities; but it will at least show to what an extravagant length imposture and credulity have sometimes been carried.

Ulysses having landed at Temesa, a town of the Brutii, one of his companions, named Polites, was murdered by the inhabitants, who soon after suffered all the scourges of celestial vengeance. The oracle being consulted, commanded them to appease the genius of Polites, to erect a sacred edifice to his honour, and annually to offer to him the most beautiful virgin to be found in the country. They obeyed, and their calamities ceased.—Towards the sixty-sixth Olympiad, a famous athleta, named Euthymus, arrived at Temesa, at the time when one of these unhappy victims was to be carried into the

[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 903 et 906.

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temple. He obtained permission to follow her; and, enamoured of her charms, asked her if she would consent to marry him if he should deliver her. She consented: the genius appeared; and, being overpowered by the superior strength of the athleta, renounced the tribute which he had received during seven or eight centuries, and hastened to precipitate himself into the neighbouring sea.[s]

[s] Strab. lib. 6. p. 255. Pausan. lib. 6. c. 6. p. 467.

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CHAPTER LXV.

Continuation of the Library.—History.

THE next day Euclid, seeing me arrive early, said to me, You give me new courage; I had feared that you had been disgusted by the length of our last conversation. To-day we will turn our attention to history, and we shall not be retarded in our progress by opinions and precepts. Many authors have written history; but no one has yet treated on the manner in which it ought to be written, and the style suitable to historical narration.[t]

We shall place at the head of these authors Cadmus, who lived about two centuries since. His work is an illustration of the antiquities of Miletus, his country,[u] and was abridged by Bion of Proconnesus.[x]

From the time of Cadmus we have an uninterrupted succession of historians. Among the most ancient, I shall name Eugeon of Samos, Deiochus of Proconnesus, Eudemos of Paros, and Democles of Pygela.[y] When I read these authors, answered I, I was not only disgusted at the absurd fables which they relate, but rejected all the facts they record, ex-

[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 15. t. i. p. 206. [u] Suid. in Κάδμ.
[x] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 752. [y] Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 818.

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cept those to which they had themselves been witnesses. For, in fine, since they were the first who transmitted them to us, from what sources did they derive their knowledge?

They found them, replied Euclid, in tradition, which from age to age preserves the memory of the revolutions that have afflicted mankind; in the writings of poets, who have eternised the glory of heroes, the genealogies of sovereigns, and the origin and emigrations of various nations;[z] in those long inscriptions which record treaties between states;[a] and the registers of the succession of the priests, preserved in the principal temples of Greece.[b] * They found them also in the festivals, statues, altars, and edifices, consecrated on account of certain events, the memory of which the places and ceremonies seemed annually to renew.

It is true that the narrative of these events became gradually loaded with marvellous circumstances, and that our first historians adopted without examination this confused mass of truth and error. But, soon after, Acusilaus, Pherecydes, Hecatæus, Xanthus, Helanicus, and others, discriminated with better judgment; and, though they did not entirely restore order to the chaos, they at least gave the example of con-

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 165. [a] Tacit. Ann. 4. c. 43. [b] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 2. Schol. ibid. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 1. t. i. p. 181. Polyb. Excerp. p. 50. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. tom. xxiii. p. 394. * See in Chap. XLI. of this work, the account of Amyclæ; and in Chap. LIII. that of Argos.

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temning as they merited the fictions of the first ages.

Here is the work in which Acusilaus has given the genealogies of the ancient royal families.[c] He goes back to the ages before the war of Troy, and even as far as Phoroneus king of Argos. I know it, answered I; and I laughed heartily when I found that author and those who followed him call Phoroneus the first of mortals.[d] Acusilaus, however, deserves our lenity; if he makes the origin of the human race too modern, he removes back that of Love, whom he considers as one of the most ancient of the gods, and represents as born with the world.[e]

A short time after Acusilaus, said Euclid, flourished Pherecydes of Athens, or rather of Leros, one of the Sporade islands.[f] He has collected the traditions relative to the history of Athens, and, occasionally, to that of the neighbouring states.[g] His work contains interesting details, such as the founding of several cities, and the emigrations of the first inhabitants of Greece.[h] His genealogies have a defect which, in the origin of societies, rendered a family illustrious. After they have been carried back to the most remote ages, the knot is solved by the intervention of some divinity. Thus, for example, we are

[c] Suid. in Ἀκουσίλ. [d] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 380. Solon. ap. Plut. in Tim. t. iii. p. 22. [e] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 178. [f] Salm. in Plin. p. 846. Vos. de Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 445. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 67. [g] Suid. in Φερ. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. passim. [h] Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 35.

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told that Orion was the son of Neptune and Euryale, and Triptolemus the son of Ocean and the Earth.[i]

About the same time appeared Hecatæus of Miletus, and Xanthus of Lydia, who both acquired a reputation enfeebled but not destroyed by the labours of others. The former, in his history and his genealogies, undertakes to illustrate the antiquities of the Greeks, which he sometimes examines critically, and rejects the marvellous. He begins his work as follows: "Hecatæus of Miletus is the author of this history: I have written what to me appeared to be true. The Greeks, in my opinion, have related many things which are contradictory and ridiculous."[k] Should we imagine that, after this introduction, he would have attributed the power of speech to the ram which carried Phrixus to Colchis?[l]

The subject of history had hitherto been confined to Greece; Hecatæus extended its limits to Egypt, and other countries till then unknown.[m] His description of the earth threw a new light on geography,[n] and furnished materials to the historians who have followed him.[o]

Here is the history of Lydia by Xanthus, an accurate writer, and extremely well acquainted with the antiquities of his country.[p] Near it are several

[i] Apollod. Biblioth. lib. 1. p. 15 et 17. [k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. c. 12. [l] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 478. [m] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 143. Agathem. de Geogr. lib. 1. cap. 1. [n] Strab. lib. 1. page 1 et 7; lib. 6. page 271; lib. 12. page 550. [o] Porph. apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 466. [p] Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 73.

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works which Hellanicus of Lesbos has published on the different nations of Greece.[q] This author, who died in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war,[r]* is sometimes defective from want of method, and too great brevity,[s] but he closes with honour the list of our earliest historians.

All these writers have confined themselves to the history of a single city or state, and all were ignorant of the art of connecting in one series the events which have passed in the different nations of the earth, and forming one regular whole from such a number of detached parts. Herodotus had the merit of conceiving and executing this grand idea. He unfolded to the eyes of the Greeks the annals of the known world; and presented to them, in one point of view, whatever memorable transactions had passed during a space of about two hundred and forty years.[t] Then was seen, for the first time, a succession of images, which, placed by the side of each other, only became more terrifying; nations were beheld ever disquiet and in motion, though jealous of their tranquillity; disunited by interest, and connected by war; sighing for liberty, and groaning under tyranny; every where guilt was seen triumphant, virtue persecuted, the earth deluged with blood, and the empire of destruction established from one end of the world to the other. But the hand which depicted these scenes knew

[q] Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 7; lib. 4. c. 5. p. 448. [r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 70. * About the year 410 before Christ. [s] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 97. [t] Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. vi. p. 820.

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so well to soften the horror of them by the charms of colouring and agreeable images; to the beauties of the design added such grace, harmony, and variety; and so frequently excited that sweet sensibility which rejoices in good and laments evil,[u] that the work of Herodotus was considered as one of the noblest productions of the human mind.

Permit me here to venture a reflexion. It seems that, in literature as in the arts, men of abilities have first entered the lists, and struggled for some time against difficulties. After these have exhausted their efforts, a man of genius arises, and forms a model which passes all the boundaries before known. This is what Homer did for the epic poem, and what Herodotus has done for general history. Those who shall come after the latter may distinguish themselves by the beauties of narrative, or more luminous criticism; but in the conduct of the work, and the connexion of facts, they will doubtless seek less to surpass than to equal him.

As to the circumstances of his life, it will be sufficient to observe that he was born in the city of Halicarnassus in Caria, about the fourth year of the seventy-third Olympiad;[x]* that he travelled into the greater part of the countries of which he intended to write the history; that his work, read in the assembly at the Olympic games, and afterwards in that of the Athenians, was received with universal ap-

[u] Dionys. Epist. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 774. [x] Scalig. ad Euseb. p. 102. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 157.

* About the year 484 before Christ.

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plause;[y] and that, when forced to leave his country, which was rent by factions, he went to end his days in a city of Magna Græcia.[z]

In the same age lived Thucydides, younger than Herodotus by about thirteen years.[a] He was of one of the first families of Athens.[b] Placed at the head of a body of troops, he for some time held in awe the forces of Brasidas, the most able general of Lacedæmon;[c] but the latter having surprised the city of Amphipolis, Athens revenged on Thucydides a misfortune which it was not in his power to prevent.

During his banishment from his native country, from which he was absent twenty years,[d] he collected materials for the history of the Peloponnesian war, and spared neither pains nor expense to make himself acquainted, not only with the causes which produced it, but also with the particular interests by which it was continued.[e] He visited the different inimical states, and every where consulted the principal persons in the government, the generals, the soldiers; and was himself a witness to the greater part of the events he proposed to relate. His history, which comprises the first one-and-twenty years of that fatal war, is strongly characterised by his love of truth, and his disposition, which inclined him to re-

[y] Lucian. in Herodot. t. i. p. 833. Euseb. Chron. p. 169. Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 862. [z] Suid. in Ἡροδότ. [a] Pamph. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 15. c. 23. [b] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd. [c] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 107. [d] Id. lib. 5. c. 26. [e] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

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flection. Some Athenians, who had seen him after his return from exile, have assured me that he was naturally very serious, thinking much, and speaking little.[f]

He was more desirous to instruct than to please, and to arrive at the end he had proposed than to wander from it by digressions:[g] his work therefore is not, like that of Herodotus, a species of poem, in which we find the traditions of different nations concerning their origin, the analysis of their manners and customs, the description of the countries they inhabit, and marvellous narratives which awaken and interest the imagination; but contains the annals, or rather the memoirs, of a soldier, who, at once a statesman and a philosopher, has intermingled in his narrations and his harangues the principles of wisdom which he had learned from Anaxagoras, and the lessons of eloquence which he had received from the orator Antiphon.[h] His reflections are often profound, and always just: his style, which is energetic, concise, and therefore sometimes obscure,[i] at intervals offends the ear; but it continually commands attention, and it may be said that its harshness gives it majesty.[k] If this estimable author employs obsolete expressions or novel words, it is because a mind like his can rarely accommodate itself to a language which

[f] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd. [g] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 22. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 634. [h] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd. [i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 13 et 22. t. i. p. 204 et 214. Id. de Clar. Orat. c. 83. t. i. p. 406. Id. Orat. c. 9. p. 426. Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 867. [k] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. c. 48 et 49.

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is spoken by every body. It has been alleged that Herodotus, from personal reasons, has related traditions which are injurious to certain nations of Greece.[l] Thucydides has only slightly mentioned his banishment, and that without defending himself, or complaining of his fate;[m] and has represented Brasidas, whose glory eclipsed his own, and whose success occasioned his disgrace, as a truly great man. The history of Thucydides was excellently continued by Xenophon, with whom you have been acquainted.[n]

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, will no doubt be considered by posterity as the most eminent of our historians, though they differ essentially in their style. And, especially, added I, in the manner in which they severally viewed objects. Herodotus every where beholds a jealous divinity, who follows men and empires to the highest point of their elevation, to precipitate them into the abyss;[o] Thucydides only sees, in each reverse of fortune, the errors of the chiefs of the state, or the generals of the army; while Xenophon almost constantly attributes all good or ill success to the favour or the anger of the gods. Thus, according to the first, all human affairs depend upon fatality; according to the second, on prudence; and, according to the third, on piety towards the gods. So true is it, that we are naturally disposed to refer every thing to a favourite system.

[l] Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 854. [m] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 26. [n] Xen. Hist. Græc. p. 428. [o] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 32; lib. 3. c. 40, &c.

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Euclid continued: Herodotus had given the first sketch of the history of the Assyrians and Persians. His errors have been detected by an author who was better acquainted than he was with those two celebrated nations; I mean Ctesias of Cnidus, who lived in our time. He was physician to king Artaxerxes, and resided a long time at the court of Susa.[p] He has communicated to us what he found in the archives of the empire,[q] what he had seen, and what had been related to him by ocular witnesses.[r] But if he is more accurate than Herodotus,[s] he is inferior to him in style; though his likewise has many beauties,[t] and is especially distinguished by its great perspicuity.[u] Among many other works,[x] Ctesias has bequeathed us a history of the Indies, in which he treats of the animals and natural productions of those distant climates; but, as he was not in possession of the best materials, the truth of his accounts begins to be doubted.[y]

Here are the antiquities of Sicily, and the life of Dionysius the Elder, and that of his son, by Philustus,[z] who died a few years since, after having seen the fleet dispersed which he commanded for the latter of those princes. Philustus possessed talents which have

[p] Phot. Bibl. p. 105. [q] Diod. Sic. lib. 2. p. 118. [r] Phot. Bibl. p. 108. [s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 176; t. xiv. p. 247. [t] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. p. 53. [u] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. c. 218. [x] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. 1. p. 881. [y] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. c. 28. t. i. p. 919. Id. de Gener. Animal. lib. 2. c. 2. p. 1076. Lucian. Varr. Hist. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 71. [z] Suid. in Φιλίστ. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 397.

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in some measure rendered him the rival of Thucydides;[a] but he was a stranger to the virtues of Thucydides. He was a slave, who wrote only to flatter tyrants;[b] and who, in every part of his work, shows that he was still more the friend of tyranny even than of tyrants.

I shall here conclude this enumeration, already too long. You will perhaps not find a single people, city, or even a celebrated temple, which has not had its distinct historian. A number of writers are at present employed in this species of composition. I shall name to you Ephorus and Theopompus, who have already distinguished themselves; two Bœötians. named Anaxis and Dionysiodorus, who have lately published the history of Greece;[c] and Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who has given us that of the Greeks and barbarians, from the birth of the human race to the death of Epaminondas.[d]

So pompous a title, said I, would prejudice me against the work. Your chronology with difficulty extends to five or six centuries before the Trojan war; beyond which, time ends to you. If we except a small number of foreign nations, the rest of the earth is unknown to you. You perceive only a point in duration as in space; and yet this author pretends to inform you of what has been done in the most distant ages and countries!

When we are acquainted with the titles that

[a] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 13. t. i. p. 205. [b] Dionys. Halic. de Prisc. Temp. t. v. p. 427. Tim. Ephor. ap. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 974. [c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 403. [d] Id. ibid. p. 397.

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the Egyptians and Chaldeans can produce to the antiquity which they claim, with what pity must we survey the imperfection and novelty of yours! How great was the surprise of the priests of Sais, when they heard Solon recount your traditions, and speak of the reign of Phoroneus, the deluge of Deucalion, and other similar epochas, so recent to them, though so ancient to him! "Solon, Solon," said one of these priests to him, "you Greeks are as yet only children."[e]

Nor have they yet ceased to be so. Some require in a history only the charms of style, and others supernatural and puerile adventures.[f] Others greedily devour those tiresome lists of unknown names, and uninteresting facts, which, supported by a long train of fables and prodigies, almost entirely compose your ancient history; that history over which Homer has diffused an eternal splendor, but which your chronicles have rendered insupportably wearisome and disgusting.

I could wish that henceforth your authors might only bestow their attention on the two or three last centuries, and that the ages preceding them should be abandoned to the poets. You have exactly expressed the idea of Isocrates, said Euclid. He had induced two of his disciples, Ephorus and Theopompus, to dedicate their labours entirely to history.[g] Ephorus is slow, and incapable of laborious researches: Theo-

[e] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 22. [f] Isocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 180. [g] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. c. 13. t. i. p. 205. Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. c. 6. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1456.

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pompus is active, ardent, and fitted for discussions.[h] Isocrates has therefore recommended to the former to apply himself to ancient, and to the latter to write modern history.

At this very moment, Ephorus and Theopompus entered the library. Euclid, who had expected them, said to me, that they were to read to us some portions of the works on which they were then employed. They brought with them two or three of their friends, and Euclid had previously invited several of his. While we were waiting for these, the two historians told us that they had not wasted their time in endeavouring to elucidate the fictions of the ages preceding the war of Troy:[i] and professing the most ardent love of truth, added, that it was to be wished that an author could be present at all the transactions which he undertakes to describe.[k]

I have proposed, said Ephorus, to write an account of the events which have passed among both Greeks and barbarians, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the present time, during the space of eight hundred and fifty years. In this work, which is divided into thirty books, each preceded by a poem,[l] will be found the origin of different nations, the foundation of the principal cities, their colonies, laws, manners, the nature of their climates, and the great men which they have produced.[m] Ephorus concluded

[h] Cicer. de. Clar. Orat. c. 56. t. i. p. 383. [i] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 209. [k] Polyb. lib. 12. p. 669. Strab. lib. 9. p. 422. [l] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 209; lib. 16. p. 468. [m] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 488; lib. 9. p. 540. Strab. lib. i. p. 33; lib. 10. p. 465.

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by acknowledging that the barbarous nations were more ancient than those of Greece;[n] and this confession prepossessed me in his favour.

This introduction was followed by the reading of a part of the eleventh book of his history, containing a description of Egypt. In it, instead of the different opinions which have been proposed concerning the inundation of the Nile,[o] he has substituted one which is neither consonant to the laws of nature, nor the circumstances of that phenomenon.[p] I sat near Euclid, and said to him, Ephorus knows nothing of Egypt, nor has he consulted those who are acquainted with that country.[q]

I was soon convinced that this author was not extremely solicitous to be accurate; and that, too faithfully copying the greater part of those who had preceded him, he affected to embellish his narrative with the fables preserved in the traditions of nations, and the relations of travellers.[r]

He appeared to me studiously to employ rhetorical figures. As the greater part of writers rank the orator above the historian, Ephorus imagined that he could not answer them better than by endeavouring successfully to unite both these species of writing.[s]

Notwithstanding these defects, this work will always be considered as a valuable treasure, because every nation may separately find in it, in admirable

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 9. [o] Theon. Progymn. p. 13. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 36. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 37. [r] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 5. p. 244; lib. 9. p. 422. Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 7. c. 16. [s] Polyb. lib. 12. p. 670.

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order, whatever interesting facts are relative to itself. The style of this history is pure, elegant, and ornamental;[t] though too often studiously restricted to certain forms of harmonious construction,[u] and almost always destitute of elevation and warmth.[x]

When Ephorus had ended, all eyes were turned towards Theopompus,[y] who began by speaking to us of himself. My father, Damostratus, said he, having been banished from the isle of Chios, his native country, for having shown too great an attachment to the Lacedæmonians, carried me with him into Greece: and, sometime after, I came into the city, where I have unremittingly applied myself to the study of philosophy and eloquence.[z]

I have composed several discourses; I have visited different states, and spoken in their assemblies; and after a long course of success, believe I may rank myself among the most eloquent men of the present age, and before the most eloquent of the last; for those who were then esteemed of the first class, would now scarcely be admitted to a place in the second.[a]

Isocrates induced me to pass from the splendid track in which I had signalised myself, into that which has been rendered illustrious by the talents of Herodotus and Thucydides. I have continued the work of the latter.[b] I am now employed on the life

[t] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. p. 173. [u] Cicer. Orat. c. 57. t. i. p. 469. [x] Suid. in Ἔφορ. Dio. Chrysost. Orat. 18. p. 256. [y] Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. 1. c. 7. Bayle, art. Theopompe. [z] Phot. Bibl. p. 392. [a] Id. ibid. p. 393. [b] Polyb. Excerpt. p. 26. Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

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of Philip of Macedon:[c] but, far from confining myself to describe the actions of that prince, I shall connect with my narrative the history of almost all nations, with an account of their manners and their laws. My plan is different from that of Ephorus, but equally extensive.

After the example of Thucydides, I have spared no labour to obtain an accurate knowledge of facts. Many of the events which I relate have passed under my eyes; and, with respect to the others, I have consulted those who were actors in or witnesses of them.[d] There is not a country of Greece which I have not visited,[e] nor any where I have not formed connexions with those who directed its political or military operations. I am sufficiently rich not to regard expense, and too much the friend of truth to fear fatigue.[f]

Such extravagant vanity prepossessed us against the author: but he soon entered so luminous a track, displayed such great knowledge of the affairs of Greece and other nations, such judgment in the distribution of facts,[g] and such simplicity, perspicuity, elevation, and harmony, in his style,[h] that we were compelled to lavish eulogiums on the man who of all others most deserved to be mortified.

He, however, continued to read, and our admiration began to cool. We were fatigued with fables

[c] Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 783. [d] Id. ibid. [e] Phot. Bibl. p. 392. [f] Athen. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 85. [g] Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 782, &c. [h] Id. ibid. p. 786.

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and incredible tales.[l] He told us that the man who in despite of the prohibition of the gods, should be able to enter a certain temple of Jupiter in Arcadia, enjoyed during his whole life after an extraordinary privilege: his body, though exposed to the rays of the sun, cast no shadow.[k] He affirmed likewise, that in the first years of the reign of Philip, the fig-trees, vines, and olives, in some cities of Macedonia, suddenly bore ripe fruits in the middle of spring; and that from that time the affairs of this prince continually prospered.[l]

His digressions are so frequent, that they fill nearly three-fourths of his work:[m] and sometimes so long, that we forget at the end the subject from which they originated.[n] The harangues which he puts in the mouth of the generals, at the moment of battle, wear the patience of the reader, as they would have done that of the soldiers.[o]

His style, which is more that of the orator than the historian, has great beauties and great defects.[p] He is too solicitous respecting the arrangement, and too negligent in the choice of his words. We frequently see him torture his periods to give them roundness, or prevent the collision of vowels;[q] while,

[i] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. c. 1. t. iii. p. 116. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 18. [k] Polyb. lib. 16. p. 732. [l] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 77. [m] Phot. Bibl. p. 393. [n] Theon. Progymn. p. 34. [o] Plut. Præcept. Reip. Gerend. t. ii. p. 803. [p] Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 634. [q] Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 786. Quintil. lib. 9. p. 593.

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at other times, he disfigures them by mean expressions and misplaced ornaments.[r]

During the course of these readings, I had frequent occasion to remark the contempt in which the Greeks hold distant nations, or their ignorance concerning them. Ephorus had mistaken Iberia* for a city;[s] and this error passed unnoticed. I had been informed by a Phœnician merchant who traded to Gadir, that Iberia is an extensive and populous country. Soon after, Theopompus, having mentioned the city of Rome, was requested to give some particulars relative to that city. It is situated in Italy, answered he: all I know of it is, that it was once taken by a nation of the Gauls.[t]

These two authors having retired, that praise was bestowed on them which in several respects they had merited. One of the persons present, who wore the cloke of a philosopher, exclaimed, in an authoritative tone, Theopompus is the first who has cited the human heart to the tribunal of history! Observe with what superiority of discernment he penetrates that profound abyss, and with what an impetuous eloquence he unfolds to us his fearful discoveries. Ever on his guard against actions that appear great and noble, he endeavours to detect the secrets of vice disguised under the mask of virtue.[u]

I much fear, said I, that one day the poison of

[r] Longin. de Subl. c. 42. Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. c.
* Spain. [s] Joseph. in App. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 444. [t] Plin. lib. 3. c. 5. t. i. p. 152. [u] Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785.

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malignity will be discovered in his writings, concealed under the appearances of frankness and probity.[x] I cannot endure those morose minds who find nothing pure and innocent among men. He who incessantly suspects the intentions of others, teaches me to distrust his own.

I was answered — An ordinary historian is contented to relate facts, but a philosophical historian ascends to their causes. For my part, I detest guilt, and wish to know the guilty man, that I may pursue him with my hatred. But his guilt, said I, ought at least first to be proved. Little doubt can be made that he is guilty, replied my opponent, if the crime was to his interest. When the subject is a man who is devoted to ambition, I ought to discern in all his proceedings, not only what he has done, but what he intended to do; and much shall I be indebted to the historian who shall reveal to me the odious mysteries of that passion. How! said I; shall mere presumptions, which are not permitted to be alleged in a court of justice but in corroboration of stronger proofs, suffice in history to stigmatise the memory of a man with eternal opprobrium?

Theopompus appeared to be sufficiently accurate in his relations, but he is only a declaimer when he distributes censure or praise at his pleasure.—Does he treat of a passion, it must be enormous and atrocious. Does his subject lead him to speak of a man

[x] Nep. in Alcib. c. 11. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 450. Joseph. in Appion. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 459.

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against whom he is prejudiced,[y] he judges of his character by some actions, and of the rest of his life by his character. It would be much to be lamented that such impostors should have the reputations of others at their disposal.

It would be much more so, answered my opponent, with warmth, if it were not permitted to attack reputations unjustly acquired. Theopompus resembles those judges in the shades below, who distinctly read the hearts of the guilty; or those physicians, who apply the knife and the caustic to the diseased limb, without injury to the sound parts.[z] He attends not to the source of vices till he is certain that it is poisoned. But why, replied I, does he contradict himself? He declares, in the beginning of his work, that he only undertook it to render to Philip the homage due to the greatest man who has appeared in Europe; and soon after represents him as the most dissolute, unjust, and perfidious of mankind.[a] Should Philip deign to cast a glance on him, he would see him meanly crouch at his feet. As my antagonist exclaimed loudly at this charge, I added: Learn then that at this very moment Theopompus is employed in composing, in honour of Philip, a panegyric filled with flattery.[b] Whom are we to believe on this head,—the historian or the philosopher?

Neither, replied Leocrates, a literary friend of

[y] Lucian. Quom. Hist. Conscrib. t. ii. p. 67. [z] Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785. [a] Polyb. Except. p. 21 et 22. Athen. lib. 6. p. 260; lib. 10. p. 439, &c. [b] Theon. Progymn. p. 15 et 77.

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Euclid, who, having applied himself to the study of politics and morals, entertained a contempt for history. Acusilaus, said he, has been convicted of falsehood by Hellanicus, and the latter by Ephorus, whose mistakes will, no doubt, hereafter be detected by others. New errors are every day discovered in Herodotus, nor is Thucydides himself exempt from them.[c] The ignorance and prejudice of writers, and the uncertainty of facts, both in their causes and circumstances, are some of the vices which are inherent in this species of composition.

But, on the other hand, replied Euclid, does it not present us with great authorities in politics, and great examples in morals? To history are the states of Greece incessantly obliged to have recourse, to ascertain their respective rights, and terminate their differences; in history each republic finds the titles of its power and its glory; and to the testimony of history our orators incessantly recur, to instruct us in our true interests. As to the science of morals, are all its numerous precepts to be compared with the illustrious examples of Aristides, Socrates, and Leonidas?

Our authors sometimes differ, when their subject relates to our ancient chronology, or when they speak of foreign nations. With respect to these articles I am willing to give them up; but since our wars with the Persians, when our history properly begins, our annals are the precious depositary of that experience

[c] Joseph. in Appion. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 489.

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which each age bequeaths to the ages that shall come after it.[d] Peace, war, taxes, and all the different branches of government, are discussed in our general assemblies, and these deliberations are preserved in the public records. The relations of great events are found in all writings, and repeated by every mouth.—Our victories and our treaties are engraved on monuments exposed to every eye. What author would dare to contradict such public and authentic testimonies?

You will perhaps allege, that our writers sometimes differ concerning the circumstances of a fact. But of what importance is it whether at the battle of Salamis the Corinthians behaved well or ill?[e] However this question may be decided, it is not less true that at Salamis, at Platæa, and at Thermopylæ, some few thousand Greeks made resistance against millions of Persians; and that then was displayed, perhaps for the first time, that great and illustrious truth, that the love of our country is capable of giving birth to actions which seem to be above the powers of human nature.

History is a theatre on which politics and morals appear in action. Youth from it receives those first impressions which sometimes are decisive of their future destiny. We must therefore present to them the noblest models to follow, and inspire them with horror for false heroism. Sovereigns and nations may derive from history important lessons: the

[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 22.

[e] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 94. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 37. p. 436.

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historian therefore should be as inflexible as justice, of which he is to maintain the rights,—and as sincere as truth, of which he professes himself the organ. So august are his functions, that they ought only to be exercised by men of acknowledged integrity, and under the inspection of a tribunal no less severe than that of the Areopagus. In a word, said Euclid, as he concluded, the utility of history can only be impaired by those who know not how to write it, nor doubted of but by those who know not how to read it.

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CHAPTER LXVI.

On the proper Names in Use among the Greeks.

PLATO has written a treatise in which he has ventured to give several etymologies of the names of heroes, genii, and gods.[f] In it he has indulged in liberties of which this species of research is but too susceptible. Encouraged by his example, though less adventurous, I shall here give some remarks on the proper names in use among the Greeks. They were accidentally introduced in the two conversations, the substance of which I have just related. Digressions of another kind having, at the same time, more than once directed our attention to the philosophy and death of Socrates, I obtained information of several particulars relative to that philosopher, of which I shall make use in the following chapter.

Proper names are distinguished into two kinds, simple and compound. Among the former there are some which derive their origin from certain relations which have been imagined between such a man and such an animal; as, for example, Leon, *the lion;* Lycos, *the wolf;* Moschos, *the calf;* Corax, *the raven;* Sauros, *the lizard;* Batrachos, *the frog;*[g] Alectryon, *the cock,* &c.[h] There are also some which appear to

[f] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 383. [g] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 731. [h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 17. v. 602.

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have been derived from the colour of the complexion; as Argos, *the white;* Melas, *the black;* Xanthos, *the fair;* Pyrrhos, *the red.**

Sometimes a child receives the name of a divinity with a slight inflexion. Thus Apollonios is derived from Apollo; Poseidonios, from Poseidon, or Neptune; Demetrios, from Demeter, or Ceres; Athenæus, from Athene, or Minerva.

The compound names are more numerous than the simple. If parents believe they have, by their prayers, obtained the birth of a son who is the hope of their family, they add to the name of the protecting divinity, slightly changed, the word *doron*, or gift. And hence the names Theodorus, Diodorus, Olympiodorus, Hypatodorus, Herodorus, Athenodorus, Hermodorus, Hephæstiodorus, Heliodorus, Asclepiodorus, Cephisodorus, &c.; that is to say, the gift of the gods, of Jupiter, of the god of Olympus, of the Most High, of Juno, of Minerva, of Mercury, of Vulcan, of the Sun, of Æsculapius, of the river Cephisus, &c.

Some families pretend to be descended from the gods; and hence the names Theogenes, or Theagenes, *born of the gods;* Diogenes, *born of Jupiter;* Hermogenes, *born of Mercury, &c.*

It is an observation deserving attention, that the greater part of names found in Homer are marks of distinction. They were given in honour of the qualities most esteemed in the heroic ages, as valour,

* Argos is the same as Argus, Pyrrhos as Pyrrhus; the Latins have terminated in *us* the proper names which among the Greeks ended in *os*.

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strength, swiftness, prudence, and other virtues. From the word *polemos*, which signifies war, have been formed Tlepolemus,[l] that is, *able to support the labours of war*;[k] and Archeptolemus,[l] or *able to direct the labours of war*.

By adding to the word *mache*, or battle, certain prepositions, and different parts of speech, which may modify the sense in a manner always honourable, are composed the names Amphimachus, Antimachus, Promachus, Telemachus. Proceeding in the same manner with the word *henorea*, strength, or intrepidity, we have Agapenor, *he who esteems valour*;[m] Agenor, *he who directs it*; Prothoenor, *the first for courage*:[n] and a number of others, as Alegenor, Antenor, Elephenor, Euchenor, Pesenor, Hypsenor, Hyperenor, &c. From the word *damao*, I tame, or conquer, are formed Demastor, Amphidamas, Chersidamas, Iphidamas, Polydamas, &c.

From *thoos*, swift, are derived the names, Areithoos, Alcathoos, Panthoos, Pirithoos, &c. From *noos*, mind or intelligence, Astynoos, Arsinoos, Autonoos, Iphinoos, &c. From *medos*, counsel, Agamedes, Eumedes, Lycomedes, Perimedes, Thrasymedes. From *cleos*, glory, Amphicles, Agacles, Bathycles, Doriclos, Echeclos, Iphiclos, Patroclus, Cleobulus, &c.

It hence follows that several individuals had then two names;[o] that which their parents had given them,

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 657. [k] Etymol. Magn. in Τλή. [l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 128. [m] Id. lib. 2. v. 609. Schol. in lib. 8. v. 114. [n] Schol. Hom. in Il. lib. 2. v. 495. [o] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 1. t. i. p. 124. Id. in lib. 2. p. 351.

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and that which they had merited by their actions; but the latter soon caused the former to be forgotten.

The titles of honour which I have mentioned, and many others that I omit, as Ormenos,[p] *the impetuous*, Asteropeos,[q] *the thunderer*, were transmitted to the children, to remind them of, and incite them to imitate, the great actions of their fathers.[r]

These names still subsist; and, as they have passed into the different classes of citizens, they impose no obligation; there sometimes even results a singular contrast between their significations and the condition or character of those who have received them in their infancy.

A Persian, who founded all his merit on the lustre of his name, came to Athens; I had been acquainted with him at Susa, and took him with me into the forum. We took our seats near several Athenians who were engaged in conversation. He asked me their names, and requested me to explain their meaning to him. The first, said I, is called Eudoxus, that is to say, *illustrious* or *honourable*. Immediately my friend the Persian made a profound reverence to Eudoxus. The second, continued I, is named Polycletus, which signifies *very celebrated*—another reverence still more profound. No doubt, said he to me, these two excellent persons are at the head of the republic? No such thing, replied I; they are of the lower class of people, and scarcely

[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 274. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 17. v. 217.
[r] Eustath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 650. lin. 35. Schol. Hom. in lib. 2. v. 495.

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known. The third, who seems so weak, is called Agasthenes, or perhaps Megasthenes, *the strong*, or rather *very strong*. The fourth, who is so corpulent and unwieldy, is named Prothoos, a word which signifies *light of foot, he who passes others in the race*. The fifth, who appears so gloomy and melancholy, is named Epichares, *the cheerful*. And the sixth? said the Persian impatiently.—The sixth is Sostratus, or the *saviour of the army*.—He has then had the command of troops?—No, he has never served. The seventh, who is called Clitomachus, *illustrious warrior*, has constantly fled at the approach of the enemy, and has been branded with infamy. The eighth is named Dicæus,[s] *the just*.—Indeed!—Indeed he is the most notorious knave existing. The name of the ninth is Evelthon, or *the welcome*.[t]—My friend now abruptly rising, said to me, These people dishonour their names. But at least, replied I, it must be confessed that their names do not inspire them with vanity.

We find scarcely any degrading names in Homer. They are much more common at present; but considerably less so than might be expected among a people who are so ready to perceive and remark any kind of ridiculousness or defect.

[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65. Marmor. Nointel. [t] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 162.

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CHAPTER LXVII.

Socrates.

SOCRATES was the son of a sculptor named Sophroniscus.[u] He quitted the occupation of his father, after having followed it some time, and with success.[x]* His mother Phenarete exercised the profession of a midwife.[y]

Those beautiful proportions and elegant forms which the marble receives from the chisel suggested to him the first idea of perfection: and this idea gradually becoming more exalted, he was convinced, that throughout the universe a general harmony between all its parts ought to prevail; and in man a just relation between his actions and his duties.

To expand these first conceptions, he exerted in every kind of study the ardour and inflexible pertinacity of a powerful mind, eager to obtain instruction. The examination of nature,[z] the accurate sciences,[a] and the agreeable arts, by turns engaged his attention.

[u] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 131. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 18. [x] Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 19. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 22. p. 53; lib. 9, c. 35. p. 782. Suid. in Σωκράτ. * The statues of the three Graces, at the gate of the citadel of Athens, were the work of Socrates: they were veiled, as they were then usually represented (Pausan. ibid.) [y] Plat. in Phæt. t. i. p. 149. [z] Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 96. [a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 814.

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He lived at a time when the human mind seemed every day to discover new sources of knowledge. Two classes of men had undertaken the care of collecting and diffusing science: the philosophers, the greater part of whom passed their lives in meditating on the formation of the universe, and the essence of beings; and the sophists, who, possessed of a few superficial notions and an ostentatious eloquence, amused their hearers with discourses on every subject of morals and politics, without elucidating any.

Socrates frequented the conversation and lectures of both;[b] he admired their talents, and derived information from their errors. During his attendance on the former, he perceived that the farther he advanced, the more the darkness thickened around him; and was convinced that Nature, who so readily grants us the knowledge really necessary to us, requires that which is of less utility to be extorted from her, and rigorously denies that which would only tend to satisfy a restless curiosity. Thus, judging of the importance of the different kinds of science by the degree of evidence or obscurity with which they are accompanied, he determined to renounce the study of the first causes, and to reject those abstract theories which serve only to torment or mislead the mind.[c]

If he considered the meditations of the philosophers as useless, the sophists appeared to him much more dangerous; since, by defending at pleasure every opinion without adopting any, they introduced

[b] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 96. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 19. [c] Xen. Mem. lib. 1. p. 710; lib. 4. p. 815. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 21.

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the licentiousness of doubt into the truths most essential to the tranquillity of society.

From his ineffectual researches, he concluded that the only knowledge necessary to men is that of their duties, and the only occupation worthy of a philosopher, that of instructing mankind in these duties; and, subjecting to the examination of reason the relations which exist between us, and the gods, and our fellow-creatures, he confined himself to that simple theology which numerous nations had peaceably followed during a long course of ages.

The supreme wisdom preserves the universe which it has formed in an eternal youth;[d] and though invisible in itself, is resplendently manifested in the wonders it operates. The gods extend their providence over all nature; and, present in every place, see and hear all things.[e] Among the infinite number of beings which are the work of their hands, man, distinguished from other animals by eminent qualities, and especially by an understanding capable of conceiving the idea of the Deity, man was ever the object of their love and predilection.[f] They speak to him incessantly by those sovereign laws which they have engraven on his heart—"Adore the gods; honour your parents; do good to those who do good to you."[g] They speak to him likewise by their oracles, distributed over the earth, and by a multitude

[d] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8. p. 237. Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 802.
[e] Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 711 et 728. [f] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 727; lib. 4. p. 800 et 802. Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62. [g] Xen. Memor. lib. 4. p. 807 et 808.

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of prodigies and presages which are indications of their will.[h]

Let us no longer, then, complain of their silence, nor allege that they are too exalted to stoop to our feebleness.[i] If their power raises them above us, their goodness brings them nearer to us. But what do they require? The worship established in each country;[k] prayers which shall be confined to solicit, in general, their protection: and sacrifices in which the purity of the heart is more essential than the magnificence of the offerings: we must renounce life if the sacrifices of wicked men were more agreeable to them than those of the virtuous.[l] They require still more, that we should honour and obey them; and to be useful to society, is to obey them.[m] The statesman, whose object is the good of the people; the labourer, who renders the earth more fertile: and all those who, from a desire to please the gods, faithfully discharge their duties, render to the divine beings the most noble worship;[n] but this must be continual, for their favours are only the reward of fervent piety, accompanied with confidence.[o] Let us undertake nothing of moment, without consulting them; let us do nothing contrary to their commands;[p] and let us ever bear in mind that the presence of the gods enlightens and fills the most obscure and the most solitary places.[q]

[h] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 708 et 709; lib. 4. p. 802. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 728. [k] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803. [l] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 722. [m] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803. [n] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 780. [o] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803. [p] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 709. [q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 728.

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Socrates never explained his opinion on the nature of the Deity, but he always clearly expressed it on his existence and providence; truths of which he was intimately convinced, and the only ones to which it was possible and of importance to attain. He acknowledged one god, the creator and preserver of the universe;[r] and under him inferior deities, formed by his hands, invested with a portion of his authority, and worthy of our veneration. Penetrated with the most awful respect for the Sovereign Being, he every where prostrated himself before him; and every where honoured the subordinate divinities, by whatever name they were invoked, provided that no human frailties were attributed to them, that their worship was free from superstitions, by which it must be disfigured; and that religion were divested of those fables which the philosophy of Pythagoras and Empedocles appeared to authorise.[rr] Ceremonies may vary among different nations; but they ought all to be authorised by the laws, and to be accompanied by the purity of intention.[s]

He did not inquire into the origin of the evil which prevails in the moral as well as in the natural world: but he was acquainted with the good and evil which are the causes of the happiness and unhappiness of man; and on this knowledge he founded his system of morality.

The true good is permanent and unalterable; it

[r] Cudw. Syst. Intellect. c. 4. § 23. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 560, &c. [rr] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580. [s] Xen. Memor. lib. 4. p. 803.

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fills without fatiguing the soul, and inspires it with profound tranquillity for the present, and absolute security for the future. It consists not, therefore, in the enjoyment of pleasures, power, health, riches, and honours; these advantages, and all those which most excite our desires, are not good in themselves, since they may be profitable or hurtful, according to the use which is made of them,[t] or the effects which they naturally produce: some of them are accompanied by the most painful sensations, and others followed by disgust and remorse; all are destroyed as soon as they are abused, and we cease to enjoy when we fear to lose them.

Our ideas of the evils which we dread are not more just: there are some of them, as disgrace, sickness, and poverty, which, notwithstanding the terror they inspire, sometimes bring with them more real advantages than honours, riches, and health.[u]

Thus, placed amid objects of the nature of which we are ignorant, our fluctuating and uncertain minds can only discern, by a dim light, what is good or evil, just or unjust, honourable or disgraceful:[x] and as all our actions are the effect of choice, and as this choice is the more blind the more it is important, we are incessantly in danger of falling into the snares by which we are surrounded. Hence so many contradictions in our conduct, such instability

[t] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 88. Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 4. p. 798. [u] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 798 et 799. [x] Plat. in Alcib. t. i. p. 117. Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 357.

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in our virtues, and so many systems of happiness which prove to be without foundation.

Yet have the gods granted us a guide to conduct us through these uncertain paths. This guide is wisdom; which is the greatest good, as ignorance is the greatest evil.[y] Wisdom is enlightened reason,[z] which, divesting the objects of our hopes and fears of their false colours, shows them to us such as they are in themselves, fixes our unsettled judgments, and determines our will by the sole force of evidence.

The man who is guided by this resplendent and pure light is just, because he is convinced that it is his interest to obey the laws, and to do no injury to any one;[a] he is frugal and temperate, because he clearly perceives that excessive indulgence in pleasure is followed by the loss of health, reputation, and fortune;[b] he possesses true courage, because he knows danger, and the necessity of braving it.[c] His other virtues flow from the same principle, or rather they are only wisdom applied to the different circumstances of life.[d]

It hence follows that all virtue is a science which is extended by exercise and meditation;[e] and all vice an error, which, from its nature, must produce all other vices.[f]

[y] Plat. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 281. Diog Laërt. lib. 2. § 31.
[z] Xen. Memor. lib. 4. p. 812. [a] Id. ibid. p. 803, 805, 806.
[b] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 353. [c] Xen. Memor. lib. 4. p. 812.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 788; lib. 4. p. 812. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 754. Aristot. de Mor. lib. 6. c. 13. t. ii. p. 82. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 145. [f] Plat. in Euthydem. t. i. p. 281. Id. in Protag. p. 357.

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This principle, still disputed among the philosophers, found opponents in the time of Socrates. It was objected that we have reason to complain of our weakness, but not of our ignorance; and that if we commit evil, it is not for want of knowing it to be such.[g] You know it not, answered he; you would carefully shun it, if you considered it as evil:[h] but you prefer it to good, because it appears to you a still greater good.

It was replied: We condemn this preference which we give to it, both before and after we are betrayed into it;[i] but there are moments in which the allurements of pleasure induce us to forget our principles, and shut our eyes to the consequences.[k] In fact, after all, how is it possible that we should vanquish those passions which enslave us in despite of ourselves?

If you are slaves, replied Socrates, you ought no longer to imagine yourselves virtuous, or, by consequence, to expect happiness. Wisdom, which can alone bestow the latter, makes her voice be heard only by men who are free, or who labour to become so.[l] To restore to you your liberty, she requires the sacrifice of those wants which were not given to you by nature. In proportion as you shall delight in and meditate on her lessons, you shall with ease shake off every yoke which can disturb or obscure the mind;

[g] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 352. [h] Id. ibid. p. 358. Id. in Men. t. ii. p. 77. [i] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 7. c. 3. t. ii. p. 86. [k] Plat. in Protag. p. 352 et 356. [l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 808.

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for it is not the tyranny of the passions which is to be feared, but that of ignorance, which delivers you into their hands by exaggerating their power: destroy the empire of the latter, and you will see those illusions which dazzle you, and those confused and unstable opinions which you have mistaken for principles, instantly disappear. Then shall the splendor and beauty of virtue make such an impression on our souls, that they shall no longer be able to resist the sovereign charm by which they are attracted; then may it indeed be said that we have it not in our power to be wicked,[m] because it will no longer be possible that we should prefer evil to good, nor even a smaller advantage to a greater.[n]

Intimately convinced of this doctrine, Socrates conceived the extraordinary and noble design of dissipating, if it were not too late, the errors and prejudices which are the unhappiness and disgrace of human nature. A simple individual, without rank, authority, or any interested view, was seen to undertake the dangerous and difficult task of instructing mankind, and conducting them to virtue by truth; he was seen to dedicate every moment of his life to this glorious ministry, to discharge it with all the zeal and moderation which an enlightened love of the public good inspires, and to support, as much as was in his power, the declining authority of the laws and of manners.

Socrates never sought to take a part in the ad-

[m] Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. t. ii. c. 9. p. 153. [n] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 358. Id. in Men. p. 77.

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ministration of public affairs; he had more noble functions to fulfil. By forming good citizens, said he, I more effectually render to my country the service which I owe to it.[o]

As he wished not to make public his plans of reform, nor to precipitate their execution, he composed no works, nor did he affect to collect his hearers around him at stated times.[p] But in the squares and public walks, in select companies, and among the lower ranks of people,[q] he took advantage of the least opportunity to instruct in their true interests, the magistrate, the artisan, and the labourer: in a word, all his brethren,—for in this light he viewed all mankind.[r]* The conversation, at first, only turned on indifferent things; but by degrees, and without their perceiving it, he induced them to give an account of their conduct; and the greater part learned with surprise that, in each condition, happiness consists in being a good parent, a good friend, and a good citizen.[s]

Socrates did not flatter himself that his doctrines would be approved by the Athenians while the Peloponnesian war agitated all minds, and was the cause of the most extreme licentiousness; but he presumed

[o] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 732. [p] Plut. An. Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 796. [q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 709. Plat. in Apol. t. i. p. 17. [r] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 600. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 5. c. 37. t. ii. p. 392. * Socrates said, I am a citizen of the world (Cicer. ibid.); Aristippus, I am a stranger every where (Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 736): these two expressions suffice to characterise the master and the disciple. [s] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 187.

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that their children, more docile, would transmit them to the succeeding generation.

These he attracted to himself by the charms of his conversation, and sometimes by becoming a companion in their pleasures, without participating in their excesses. One of these youths, named Æschines, after having heard him discourse, exclaimed—"Socrates, I am poor, but I give myself to you without reserve."—"You know not," answered Socrates, "what a noble present you have made me."[t] His first care was to discover their true character. He assisted them by his questions to explain their own ideas, and compelled them by his answers to reject them. More accurate definitions gradually dispelled the false light they had received in their earlier education, and doubts acutely started redoubled their inquietude and curiosity;[u] for his art consisted in always bringing them to that point at which they could neither endure their ignorance nor their weakness.

Many, being unable to undergo this trial, and blushing at their situation, without having the fortitude to extricate themselves from it, forsook Socrates, who was not eager to recal them.[x] Others learned from their humiliation to distrust themselves, and from that instant he ceased to spread snares for their vanity:[y] he spoke to them neither with the severity of a censor, nor the haughtiness of a sophist; he dealt not in harsh reproaches or importunate com-

[t] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 34. [u] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 795. [x] Id. ibid. p. 799. [y] Id. ibid. p. 800.

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plaints; his discourse was the language of reason and friendship, in the mouth of virtue.

He laboured to form their minds, because each precept ought to have its principle; and exercised them in dialectics, that they might be enabled to combat against the sophisms of pleasure and the passions.[z]

Never was any man less susceptible of jealousy. If his disciples wished to obtain a slight tincture of the sciences, he directed them to masters whom he believed more capable to instruct them than himself;[a] or, if they desired to frequent other schools, furnished them with recommendations to the philosophers to whom they gave the preference.[b]

His lessons were only familiar conversations, the subject of which was suggested by the circumstances of the moment. Sometimes he read to his scholars the writings of the sages who had preceded him.[c] He repeatedly read them, because he knew that to persevere in the love of virtue, it is often necessary to be convinced anew of those truths of which we have before been persuaded. Sometimes he discussed the nature of justice, knowledge, and the true good;[d] then would he exclaim—"Detested be the memory of him who first dared to make a distinction between what is just and what is useful!"[e]—At other times, he

[z] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 810. [a] Id. ibid. p. 814. [b] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 151. Epict. Enchir. c. 46. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. c. 5. Simpl. in Epict. p. 311. [c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 731. [d] Id. ibid. Plat. passim. [e] Cic de Leg. lib. 1. c. 12. t. iii. p. 126. Id. de Offic. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 259.

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pointed out to them, more at length, the relations that connect men with each other, and those between them and the objects by which they are surrounded.[f] Submission to the will of parents, however rigid they may be; and still more implicit submission to the commands of our country, however severe;[g] equality of mind in adversity and prosperity;[h] the obligation men are under to render themselves useful to other men, and the necessity that they should continually be in a state of warfare against their own passions, and in a state of peace towards the passions of others; these were the points of doctrine which Socrates explained with equal perspicuity and precision.

Hence his discourses contained the elucidation of a multitude of ideas novel to his hearers, and abounded with maxims similar to the following, taken at random from among many others which are still remembered; such as, that the fewer our wants, the nearer we approach to the divine nature;[i] that idleness degrades, and not labour;[k] that a look of complacence on beauty introduces a mortal poison into the heart;[l] that the glory of the sage consists in being virtuous without affecting to appear so, and his pleasure in becoming still more virtuous from day to day;[m] that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy; that we ought never to render evil for evil;[n] and, to

[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 794 [g] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 51. Id. in Protag. p. 346. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 741. [h] Stob. Serm. 147. p. 234. [i] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 731. [k] Id. ibid. p. 720. [l] Id. ibid. p. 724. [m] Id. ibid. p. 730 et 732. [n] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 49.

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conclude with one of those alarming truths on which he most frequently insisted, that it is the greatest of impostures to pretend to govern and conduct men without possessing the requisite abilities.[o]

And, in fact, how was it possible that the presumption of ignorance should not have disgusted him who, after all his labours, and the knowledge to which he had attained, believed that he had scarcely acquired the right of confessing that he knew nothing[p]—he who beheld in the state the most important places obtained by intrigue, and confided to persons without knowledge or probity; in society and private families every principle obscured, and every duty misunderstood; and, among the youth of Athens, haughty and frivolous minds, whose arrogant claims knew no bounds, and whose incapacity equalled their pride?

Socrates, ever attentive to destroy the high opinion which the latter entertained of themselves,[q] read in the heart of Alcibiades the desire of being soon at the head of the republic, and in that of Critias the ambition one day to subject it. Both, distinguished by their birth and riches, sought to obtain knowledge, that they might afterwards make an ostentatious display of it before the people.[r] But the former was the most dangerous, because he joined to these advantages the most amiable qualities. Socrates, after having obtained his confidence, forced him to confess, with tears, sometimes his ignorance, and sometimes

[o] Xen. Mem. lib. 1. p. 732. [p] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 21. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 157. [q] Xen. Mem. lib. 4. p. 791. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 713.

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his vanity; and in this confusion of sentiments, the disciple declared that he could neither be happy with such a master, nor without such a friend. To avoid the force of his arguments, Alcibiades and Critias at length determined to shun his presence.[s]

Success less splendid, but more durable, though it could not console him for this loss, recompensed his labours. To dissuade from engaging in public employments such of his disciples as had not yet acquired sufficient experience to discharge them properly,[t] and to induce others who declined them from indifference or modesty to accept them;[u] to reconcile his pupils and his friends when divisions had taken place among them;[x] to restore tranquillity to their families, and order to their affairs;[y] to render them more religious, more just, and more temperate[z]—such were the effects of that mild persuasion which he instilled into the minds[a] of all who conversed with him; and such the pleasures which transported his beneficent heart.

These salutary effects were, however, less to be ascribed to his lessons than to his example.[b] The following observations will show that it was difficult for any one to frequent his company without becoming better.[c] Though born with the strongest inclination to vice, his whole life was the most exemplary model

[s] Xen. Mem. lib. 1. p. 713. Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 215 et 216. [t] Xen. Mem. lib. 3. p. 772. [u] Id. ibid. p. 774. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 29. [x] Xen. Mem. lib. 2. p. 743. [y] Id. ibid. p. 741 et 755. [z] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 711; lib. 4. p. 803 et 808. [a] Id. ibid. p. 713; lib. 4. p. 814. Lucian. in Damonact. tom. ii. p. 379. [b] Xen. Mem. lib. 1. p. 712. [c] Id. ibid. p. 721.

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of virtue. It was with difficulty that he obtained the victory over the violence of his disposition, whether because this defect is the most difficult to correct, or because it is that which we most easily excuse, in ourselves. But at length his patience became invincible. The ill temper of Zanthippe his wife could not disturb the tranquillity of his mind[d] nor the serenity of his brows.[e] He lifted his hand to strike the slave—"Ah!" said he, "if I were not angry!" and did not strike him.[f] He had requested his friends to tell him when they perceived any alteration in his countenance or voice.[g]

Though he was very poor, he received no salary for his instructions,[h] and never accepted the offers of his disciples. Some rich individuals of Greece wished to prevail on him to live with them,[i] but he refused; and when Archelaus king of Macedon offered him an establishment at his court, he refused him likewise, alleging that it was not in his power to return benefit for benefit.[k]

He was not, however, negligent of his external appearance, though this bore the marks of the mediocrity of his fortune. His cleanliness resulted from those ideas of order and decency which governed all his actions; and the care which he took of his health,

[d] Xenoph. in Conviv. p. 876. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 36. [e] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 26. t. iii. p. 203. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 7. [f] Senec. de Irâ, lib. 1. c. 15. [g] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 13. [h] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712 et 729. Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 19. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 27. [i] Id. ibid. § 25. [k] Senec. de Benef. lib. 5. c. 6. Diog. Laërt. ibid.

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from his desire to preserve his mind free and tranquil.[l]

In those repasts in which pleasure sometimes proceeds to licentiousness, his friends admired his frugality,[m] and in his conduct his enemies revered the purity of his manners.[n]

He made several campaigns, in all of which he gave noble examples of courage and obedience. He had long hardened himself against all the wants of nature and the inclemency of the seasons;[o] and at the siege of Potidæa, when the severe cold kept the troops under their tents, he, without taking any precaution, still appeared in the same dress which he wore at every other time, and was seen to walk barefooted on the ice.[p] The soldiers imagined that he intended to insult their effeminacy, but he would have done the same had no person seen him.

At the same siege, during a sally which the garrison made, having found Alcibiades covered with wounds, he snatched him from the hands of the enemy; and some time after procured the prize of bravery to be decreed to him, which he had himself merited.[q]

At the battle of Delium he was among the last who retired, by the side of the general, whom he assisted with his advice, marching slowly, and fighting

[l] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 22. [m] Xen. ibid. p. 723. Diog. ibid. § 27. [n] Xen. ibid. p. 724. [o] Id. ibid. p. 711 et 729. [p] Plat. in Conviv. tom. iii. p. 220. [q] Id. ibid. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 194. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 23.

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as he retreated: till perceiving the youth Xenophon, exhausted with fatigue, and thrown from his horse, he took him on his shoulders, and conveyed him to a place of safety.[r] Laches, his general, afterwards declared, that victory must have been certain if every soldier had behaved like Socrates.[s]

This courage did not forsake him on occasions perhaps still more perilous. Having been raised by lot to the rank of senator, he presided, in virtue of his office, with some other members of the senate, in the assembly of the people. The business before them was an accusation against some generals who had gained a signal victory. A sentence was proposed no less defective from its irregularity than oppressive of innocence. The multitude kindled into a rage at the least contradiction, and demanded that all who opposed the proceedings should be placed among the number of the accused. The other presidents were intimidated, and gave their approbation to the decree. Socrates alone, intrepid in the midst of clamours and menaces, protested that, having taken an oath to judge conformably to the laws, nothing should induce him to violate it, nor did he violate it.[t]

Socrates frequently jested on the resemblance of his features to those which were attributed to the god Silenus.[u] He had a pleasing and lively wit, equal

[r] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 221. Strab. lib. 9. p. 403. Diog. Laërt. in Socrat. § 22. [s] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 181. [t] Xen. Hist. Græc. t. i. lib. 1. p. 449. Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 711; lib. 4. p. 803. [u] Plat. in Conviv. p. 883. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 143. Id. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 215.

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strength and solidity of character, and a peculiar talent for rendering the truth manifest and interesting. His discourse was without ornament, but frequently possessed elevation, and always precision in the terms, and connexion and propriety of ideas. He affirmed, that he had received lessons in rhetoric from Aspasia,[x] by which he no doubt meaned that he had learned from her to express himself more gracefully. He was intimately acquainted with that celebrated woman, and with Pericles, Euripides, and the most distinguished men of his age: but his disciples were always his real friends; by them he was adored:[y] and I have seen some of them who, long after his death, manifested the tenderest emotions whenever they recalled him to mind.

In his conversations with his pupils and friends, he frequently spoke of a genius which had attended him from his infancy,[z] and whose inspirations never urged him to any undertaking, but frequently restrained him when on the point of executing his intention.[a] If he consulted his monitor concerning any project, the issue of which would have proved unfortunate, he heard a secret voice; but if the event were to be prosperous, the genius was silent. One of his disciples, astonished at a language so unusual, pressed him to explain more clearly the na-

[x] Plat. in Menex. t. ii. p. 235. [y] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 731; lib. 2. p. 746 et 752; lib. 4. p. 817. Lucian. in Damonact. t. ii. p. 379. [z] Plat. in Theag. t. i. p. 128. [a] Id. ibid. Id. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 242. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 54. t. iii. p. 45.

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ture of this divine voice; but he received no answer.[b] Another made inquiry concerning the same subject at the oracle of Trophonius; but his curiosity was not better satisfied.[c] Would Socrates have left their doubts unresolved had he meaned nothing more by his genius than that consummate prudence which was the result of his experience? Did he wish to lead them into error, and gain their admiration and reverence by exhibiting himself to them as an inspired man? No, answered Xenophon, to whom I one day proposed these questions. Socrates never disguised the truth; he was totally incapable of such deceit; he was neither so vain nor so simple as to give mere conjectures for true predictions; he was himself persuaded; and when he spoke to us in the name of his genius, it was because he internally felt its secret influence.[d]

Another disciple of Socrates, named Simmias, with whom I was acquainted at Thebes, affirmed that his master, convinced that the gods do not render themselves visible to mortals, disregarded all the stories that were told him of apparitions; but that he listened to, and questioned with the most serious attention, those who imagined they had heard within them the accents of a divine voice.[e]

If to these express testimonies we add that Socrates, to the day of his death, declared that the gods had sometimes deigned to communicate to him a portion of their prescience;[f] that he, as well as his

[b] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 588. [c] Id. ibid. p. 590. [d] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 708. [e] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 588. [f] Plut. Apoll. t. i. p. 31. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 32.

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disciples, related many of his predictions which had been verified by the event;[g] that some of these were much spoken of at Athens, and that he never attempted to contradict the reports that were current concerning them;[h] we shall no longer be able to doubt that he wished to be understood in the literal and express meaning of his words, when, speaking of his genius, he asserted that he had felt within him what perhaps no other person had ever experienced.[i]

By examining his principles and his conduct, we may perceive by what steps he arrived at a belief that he had attained to such a privilege. Attached to the prevailing religion of his time, he thought, conformably to the ancient traditions adopted by the philosophers,[k] that the gods, commiserating the wants, and moved by the prayers of the virtuous man, on certain occasions, by various signs made known to him future events.[l] In consequence of this idea he sometimes exhorted his disciples to consult the oracles, and sometimes to apply themselves to the study of divination;[m] while he himself, adopting the prevalent opinion of his age,[n] attentively observed his dreams, and obeyed them as the immediate notices of heaven.[o] Nor was this all: frequently he continued whole hours absorbed in meditation; during which time his

[g] Xen. Apol. p. 703. Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 581. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 1. [h] Plut. ibid. [i] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 496. [k] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 3 et 43. [l] Xen. Memor. lib. 1. p. 723. [m] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 815. [n] Aristot. de Divin. c. 1. t. i. p. 697. [o] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 44. Id. in Phædon. p. 61. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 25. t. iii. p. 22.

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mind, disengaged from the senses, was elevated imperceptibly to the source of duties, and of virtues. But it is difficult to continue a long time, as it were, beneath the eye of the Divinity, without venturing to interrogate him, listening to his answers, and becoming familiar with those illusions which a violent agitation of mind frequently produces. Ought we then to be surprised if Socrates sometimes mistook his presentiments for divine inspirations, and ascribed to a preternatural cause the effects of prudence or of chance?

Nevertheless we find, in the history of his life, facts which might lead us to suspect the integrity of his intentions. What indeed can we think of a man who, when followed by his disciples, suddenly stops, remains long absorbed in thought, hears the voice of his genius, and advises to take another road, though no real danger threatens them should they continue in that in which they are?[p]*

I shall adduce a second example. At the siege of Potidæa he was seen from the dawn of day, standing without his tent, motionless, wrapped in profound meditation, and exposed to the burning rays of the sun; for it was in summer. The soldiers gathered round him, and showed him to each other with admiration. In the evening some of them deter-

[p] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580. * Some of his disciples continued their way, notwithstanding the advice of the genius, and met a drove of pigs which covered them with mud. This story is related in Plutarch by Theocritus, a disciple of Socrates; who refers to Simmias, another disciple of Socrates, as a witness.

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mined to watch him all night. He continued in the same posture till the following day, when he rendered his homage to the sun, and quietly retired to his tent.[q]

Did he mean to exhibit himself to be gazed upon by the army? Was it possible that his mind should, during so long a time, investigate and follow the connexion of a chain of truths? or have his disciples, in transmitting to us these facts, mis-stated the circumstances? We seem compelled to admit that the conduct of the wisest and most virtuous men sometimes presents us with impenetrable obscurities.

However this may be, notwithstanding the predictions which were attributed to Socrates, the Athenians never entertained for him that respect which on so many accounts he merited: his manner must necessarily give them offence. Some could not pardon him the disgust they conceived at a discussion which they were unable to follow, nor others, his having extorted from them a confession of their ignorance.

As he inculcated that the research after truth should be begun by hesitation, and the distrust of the knowledge we might seem to have acquired; and as, to wean his young pupils from the false ideas they had received, he led them gradually from consequence to consequence, till he compelled them to confess that, according to their principles, wisdom itself might become hurtful; the bye-standers, who were unable to perceive his views, accused him of plunging his disci-

[q] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 220. Phavor. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 2. c. 1. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 23.

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ples into doubts, maintaining either side of a question, and overturning every system, but erecting none.[r]

As, when he chanced to be in company with those by whom he was unknown, he affected to know nothing, and dissembled his strength that he might afterwards employ it with more success, it was said that, by an insulting irony, he sought only to spread snares for the simplicity of others.[s*]

As the youth of Athens, who beheld the contests of men of wit with the same pleasure as they would have viewed the combat of wild beasts, applauded his victories, and on the slightest occasion employed the weapons which he had used, it was inferred that his followers only learned of him the love of dispute and contradiction;[t] and those whose censure was mildest, observed that he had abilities sufficient to inspire his pupils with the love of wisdom, but not to induce them to practise its precepts.[u]

He was rarely present at theatrical exhibitions; and, as he highly disapproved of the extreme licentiousness of the comedies of his time, he drew on himself the enmity of their authors.[x]

As he scarcely ever appeared in the assembly of the people, and had neither influence nor any means of buying or selling suffrages, many merely considered him as an idle and useless man who continually talked of reformation and virtue.

[r] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 80 et 84. Xen. Mem. lib. 4. p. 805. [s] Tim. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 19. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 805. * See note IV. at the end of the volume. [t] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23. [u] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1. p. 725. [x] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 13.

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These numerous prejudices united, produced an opinion, almost general, that Socrates was only a sophist, more able and adroit, and more respectable, but perhaps not less vain, than the others.[y] I have known intelligent Athenians who gave him this name long after his death;[z] and during his life-time some authors artfully employed it to revenge themselves for the contempt with which he had treated them.

Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Amipsias, ridiculed him on the stage,[a] as they had done Pericles, Alcibiades, and almost all those who had been at the head of the government, and as other dramatic writers had ridiculed other philosphers;[b] for there was then a division between these two classes of literary men.[c]

To expose to ridicule the pretended genius of Socrates, and his long meditations, Aristophanes represents him suspended in a basket, assimilating his thoughts to the subtle and light air which he respires,[d] and invoking the clouds, the tutelary deities of the sophists, whose voice he imagines that he hears in the midst of the fogs and darkness by which he is surrounded.[e] To inflame against him the prejudices of the people, he accuses him of teaching the youth of Athens to contemn the gods, and to deceive men.[f]

Aristophanes presented his piece at the competition

[y] Ameips. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 28. [z] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 287. [a] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 96. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 28. Senec. de Vit. Beat. c. 27. [b] Senec. ibid. [c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 607. Argum. Nub. p. 50. [d] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 229. [e] Id. ibid. v. 291 et 329. [f] Id. ibid. v. 112 et 246.

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for the prize: it was received with applause, but did not obtain the crown.[g] He again brought it on the stage the following year, but with no better success. He afterward retouched it, but circumstances prevented it from being a third time represented.[h] Socrates, it is affirmed, was present at the first performance of this piece, and stood up to show himself to those strangers who looked for him among the spectators.[i] Such attacks could no more shake his fortitude than the other events of life.[k] "It is my duty," said he, "to correct my faults, if the sarcasms of these writers are well founded, and to despise them if they are not." He was one day told that a certain person had spoken ill of him: "That is," replied he, "because he has not yet learned to speak well."[l]

Nearly four-and-twenty years had elapsed from the first representation of the Clouds, and the time of persecution seemed to be entirely passed, when he was unexpectedly informed that a young man had presented to the second of the archons[m] an accusation conceived in the following terms: "Melitus, the son of Melitus, of the borough of Pythos, presents a criminal accusation against Socrates, the son of Sophronicus, of the borough of Alopece. Socrates offends against the laws, by not acknowledging our gods, and introducing new divinities under the name of genii; he

[g] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 525. [h] Schol. Aristoph. p. 51. Sam. Pet. Miscell. lib. 1. c. 6. Palmer. Exercit. p. 729. [i] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 13. [k] Senec. de Const. Sap. c. 18. [l] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 36. [m] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 2.

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likewise offends against the laws by corrupting the youth of Athens: the punishment, death."[n]

Melitus was a frigid poet, destitute of abilities, who wrote some tragedies, the remembrance of which will only be preserved by the pleasantries of Aristophanes, who has ridiculed them.[o] Two accusers, more powerful than himself, Anytus and Lycon, made him the instrument of their hatred.[p] The latter was one of those public orators who, in the assemblies of the senate and the people, discuss the interests of the state, and direct at pleasure the opinion of the multitude, which disposes of every thing.[q] He it was who managed the proceedings on the accusation.[r]

Considerable riches, and signal services rendered to the state, placed Anytus among the number of those citizens who possessed the greatest influence and authority.[s] He had successively filled the first offices in the republic.[t] As he had always been a zealous partisan of the democracy, and had suffered persecution from the thirty tyrants, he was one of those who most contributed to their expulsion, and the re-establishment of liberty.[u]

Anytus had long lived on friendly terms with Socrates; he had even once requested him to give some instructions to his son, to whom he had com-

[n] Plat. Apol. t. ii. p. 24. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 708. Phavor. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 40. [o] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1337. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Μέλιτ. [p] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23. Antisth. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 39. [q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. t. ii. p. 369. [r] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 38. [s] Isocr. in Callimach. t. ii. p. 495. [t] Lys. in Agorat. p. 261. Id. in Dardan. p. 388. [u] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 468.

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mitted the superintendance of a manufacture from which he derived considerable profits. But Socrates having represented to him that this degrading employment was neither suitable to the dignity of the father nor the dispositions of the son,[w] Anytus, offended at this advice, forbade the young man to have any future intercourse with his master.

Some time after, Socrates, in company with Menon, one of his friends, discussed the question, Whether education can bestow those qualities of the mind and heart which nature has refused. Anytus coming up, joined in the conversation. The conduct of his son, whose education he had neglected, began to give him uneasiness. In the course of the conversation, Socrates observed that the children of Themistocles, Aristides, and Pericles, instructed by different masters in music, riding, and the gymnastic exercises, had arrived at excellence in all these accomplishments, but that they never had possessed the virtue of their fathers; a certain proof, added he, that the latter could find no preceptor who was able to render their sons their equals in merit. Anytus, who ranked himself with these great men, felt, or imagined he perceived, the allusion; and angrily answered—"You speak of others with a licentiousness not to be endured. Attend to what I say; be more on your guard; there is no place in the world where it is easier to do good or evil to any one than here, and that you cannot but know."[x]

[w] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 706 et 707. [x] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 94.

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To these private causes of offence were added others which irritated Anytus, and which were common to him with the greater part of the Athenians. It will be necessary to explain them, to make known the principal cause of the accusation against Socrates.[y]

Two factions have always subsisted at Athens,—the partisans of the aristocracy, and those of the democracy. The former, almost always overpowered by the latter, were obliged, in prosperous times, to confine themselves to secret murmurs; but when misfortunes attacked the state, and especially towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, they made several attempts to deprive the people of their excessive power. After the taking of Athens, the Lacedæmonians confided the government of that city to thirty magistrates, the greater part of which were chosen from this class. At their head was Critias, one of the disciples of Socrates. Within the space of eight months these tyrants had committed more cruelties than the people could be accused of in the course of several centuries. At length, however, a number of citizens, who were at first obliged to fly, united under the conduct of Thrasybulus and Anytus; the oligarchy was detroyed,* the ancient form of government re-established, and, to prevent any future dissension, an almost general amnesty enacted, that past offences should be pardoned and buried in oblivion. This

[y] Observ. Manuscrites de M. Freret sur la Condamnation de Socrate. * See, with respect to this revolution, the conclusion of the first volume of this work.

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decree was published, and sanctioned by an oath, three years before the death of Socrates.[z]

The people took the oath, but they remembered with dread that they had been deprived of their authority, and were every moment exposed to lose it a second time; that they were still dependent on Lacedæmon, which constantly laboured every where to establish the oligarchy; that the principal citizens of Athens maintained a correspondence with the Spartans, and were animated by the same sentiments. And what might not be expected from that cruel faction in other circumstances, when, in the midst of the ruins of the republic, so much blood had been necessary to satiate its fury?

The flatterers of the multitude still more increased these alarms, by representing that certain violent and restless minds daily declaimed with the most offensive temerity against the nature of the popular government; that Socrates, the most dangerous of them all, because possessed of the greatest abilities, incessantly corrupted the youth of Athens by maxims contrary to the established constitution; that he had more than once been heard to say, that only madmen would confide public employments, and the direction of the state, to persons chosen from among a great number of citizens by blind chance;[a] that Alcibiades, practising the lessons he had received from his master, besides the other evils with which he had overwhelmed the republic,[b] had finally conspired against its liberty;

[z] Andocid. de Myster. p. 12. [a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712. [b] Id. ibid. p. 713.

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that Critias and Theramenes, two others of his disciples, had not blushed to place themselves at the head of the thirty tyrants; and that, in a word, it was become absolutely necessary to repress a licentiousness, the consequences of which, as they were difficult to foresee, it would be impossible to avoid.

But what accusation can be brought against Socrates? He could only be charged with some discourses concerning which the laws had determined nothing; and which of themselves did not constitute a specific offence, since they had not a necessary connexion with the misfortunes that had befallen the state. Besides, by making them the only ground of the accusation, there would be danger that the animosity of parties should again be excited, and it would be necessary to recur to events which the amnesty had decreed should be for ever forgotten.

The plan marked out by Anytus provided against these inconveniences, and was adapted at once to gratify his private enmity and the vengeance of the popular party. The accuser, by prosecuting Socrates as an impious person, had the greatest reason to expect that he should effect his destruction, since the people always received with eagerness accusations of this kind,[c] and, confounding Socrates with the other philosophers, were persuaded that they could not treat on the nature without denying the existence of the gods.[d] Besides, the greater part of the judges having formerly been present at the representation of the

[c] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 3. [d] Id. Apolog. t. i. p. 18.

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Clouds of Aristophanes, still retained, with respect to Socrates, those disadvantageous impressions which, in a great city, are so easily received, and with such difficulty removed.[e]

On the other hand, Melitus, by prosecuting him as the corrupter of youth, might, under favour of so vague a charge, incidentally recur, without danger, to facts proper to irritate the judges, and alarm the friends of the popular government.

The secret of these proceedings has not escaped posterity. About fifty-four years after the death of Socrates, the orator Æschines, with whom I was extremely intimate, said, before the same tribunal which had condemned that philosopher: "You who adjudged to death the sophist Socrates, convicted of having given lessons to Critias, one of those thirty tyrants who destroyed the democracy."[f]

During the first proceedings, Socrates continued quiet. His disciples, terrified, conjured him to take measures to dispel the storm. The celebrated Lysias drew up for him a pathetic discourse, proper to move the passions of the judges. Socrates acknowledged that he found in it proofs of the abilities of the orator, but objected that it did not speak the nervous language which became innocence.[g]

One of his friends, named Hermogenes, one day intreated him to employ himself in preparing his de-

[e] Plat. in Apolog. t. i. p. 18. [f] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 287.
[g] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 54. t. i. p. 182. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 40. Val. Max. lib. 6. c. 4. Extern. No. 2.

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fence.[h] That, replied Socrates, has been my employment from the hour of my birth: let my whole life undergo an examination, and that shall be my defence.

But, replied Hermogenes, the truth requires to be supported; and you are not ignorant how many innocent citizens have been destroyed, and how many guilty saved, before our tribunals, by the power of eloquence. I know it well, answered Socrates. I have even twice begun to arrange the materials for my defence; but twice has the genius, which directs me, checked me in my design, and I have acknowledged the wisdom of his counsel.

Until the present moment I have lived the most happy of mortals. I have frequently compared my condition to that of other men, and never have I found reason to envy the lot of any person. Ought I to wish to live till the infirmities of old age deprive me of the use of my senses, and, by enfeebling my mind, condemn me to pass only useless or wretched days?[i] The gods, according to every appearance, prepare for me a peaceful death, free from pain, and the only one which I could have wished. My friends, the witnesses of my departure, shall not be struck with horror at the sight, nor be compelled to commiserate the weakness of humanity; and in my last moments I shall still have sufficient strength to raise my eyes to them, and give them to understand the sentiments of my heart.[k]

[h] Xen. Apol. p. 701. Id. Mem. lib. 4. p. 816. [i] Id. ibid. p. 817. [k] Id. Apol. p. 702.

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Posterity shall decide between my judges and me; and while it shall load their memory with opprobrium, it shall clear mine from the imputations of my enemies, and do me the justice to declare, that, far from endeavouring to corrupt my fellow-citizens, I have incessantly laboured to render them better men.[l]

Such was the disposition of his mind, when he appeared before the tribunal of the Heliastæ, to which the king-archon had referred the decision of the cause, and which, on this occasion, was composed of about five hundred judges.[m]

Melitus, and the other accusers, had concerted their attacks at leisure. In their pleadings, supported by every artifice of eloquence,[n] they had introduced with consummate art a variety of circumstances proper to prejudice the judges. I shall state some of their allegations, and the answers they produced.

First crime of Socrates: *He does not acknowledge the gods of Athens, though, by the laws of Draco, it is the duty of every citizen to honour them.*[o]

The answer to this charge was easy. Socrates frequently offered sacrifices before his house, and often, during the festivals, on the public altars, in the view of the whole city, and of Melitus himself, had he deigned to give attention to what he saw.[p]

[l] Xen. Apol. p. 706. Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 817. [m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 83. Observ. Manuscrites de M. Freret. sur la Condemn. de Socrate. [n] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 17. [o] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. p. 380. [p] Xen. Apol. p. 703. Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 705 et 708. Theod. ap. Arist. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 23. t. ii. p. 577.

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But as he had inveighed against the superstitious practices that had been introduced into religion,[q] and could not endure that hatred and other shameful passions should be attributed to the gods,[r] it was easy to render him odious in the eyes of those who are ever ready to entertain suspicions of rational piety.

Melitus added, that, under the name of genii, Socrates sought to introduce novel divinities among the Athenians, and that such audacity merited the punishment denounced by the laws. The orator here indulged himself in several pleasantries concerning that spirit, whose secret inspirations were boasted by the philosopher.[s]

This voice, answered Socrates, is not that of a new divinity, but that of the gods whom we adore. You all acknowledge that they foresee future events, and are able to make them known to mortals. To some they reveal them by the mouth of the Pythia, and to others by various other signs: to me they manifest them by an interpreter, whose oracles are preferable to the indications drawn from the flight of birds; for my disciples will testify, that I have never foretold to them any thing which has not come to pass.

At these words loud murmurs of disapprobation were heard among the judges;[t] which Melitus might have increased, had he seized the opportunity to observe, that, by countenacing the pretended revelations of Socrates, fanaticism must sooner or later be introduced into a country where it was so easy to

[q] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580. [r] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6. [s] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 31. [t] Xen. Apol. p. 703.

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work on the imagination; and that many would consider it as a duty rather to obey the directions of a particular spirit, than the commands of the magistrate. Melitus does not appear to have perceived this danger.[u]

Second crime of Socrates: *He corrupts the youth of Athens.* This charge did not relate to his conduct, but his doctrine. It was alleged, that his disciples only learned from his lessons to disregard the ties of kindred and of friendship.[x] This accusation, founded on some expressions malignantly interpreted, only served to show the disingenuousness of the prosecutors; but Melitus resumed his advantage, when he insinuated that Socrates was the enemy of the people. He spoke of the intimate connexions of the philosopher with Alcibiades and Critias.[y] It was answered, that they had displayed virtues while under his guidance: that their master had at all times condemned the licentious extravagancies of the former; and that, during the tyranny of the latter, he was the only person who dared to oppose his will.

To conclude, said Melitus to the judges, you have been chosen by lot to administer justice, and by the same mode of appointment have filled important offices of magistracy. This method of election, the more essential since by it alone a kind of equality can be preserved among the citizens, Socrates has censured; and the youth of Athens, after his example, learn no longer to respect this fundamental principle of the constitution.[z]

[u] Freret. Observ. Manuscr. [x] Xen. Apol. p. 704. Id. Mem. lib. 4. p. 719. [y] Id. Mem. lib. 1. p. 713. [z] Id. ibid. p. 712.

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Socrates, when he censured an abuse that committed to chance the fortune of individuals and the fate of the republic, had only spoken what the most intelligent Athenians[a] thought. Besides, such discourse, as I have observed above, could not be supposed to subject him to the punishment of death, which the accuser had stated in his indictment to be due to his crime.

Many of the friends of Socrates openly espoused his cause,[b] others wrote in his favour;[c] and Melitus must have been defeated, had not Anytus and Lycon come to his assistance.[d] It is remembered, that the former dared to represent to the judges that the prisoner either ought not to have been brought before their tribunal, or that they ought to condemn him to death; since, should he be acquitted, their children would only be still more strongly attached to his doctrine.[e]

Socrates made a defence, that he might obey the laws;[f] but he made it with the firmness of innocence and the dignity of virtue. I shall here add some passages from the discourse which his apologists, and especially Plato, have put into his mouth, as they will serve to pourtray his character.

"I appear before this tribunal for the first time in my life, though I am more than seventy years of age. The forms and style of the proceedings are entirely new to me; I am about to speak a foreign language; and the only favour which I have to request is, that

[a] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 322. [b] Xen. Apol. p. 705. [c] Id. ibid. p. 701. [d] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 36. [e] Id. ibid. p. 29. [f] Id. ibid. p. 19.

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'you would rather be attentive to my arguments than my words; for it is your duty to determine what is just, and mine to declare to you the truth."[g]

After having cleared himself from the crime of impiety,[h] he proceeded to the second head of the accusation.

"It is alleged that I corrupt the youth of Athens. Let my accuser produce one of my disciples whom I have drawn into vice.[i] I see many of them in this assembly; let them arise and depose against their corrupter.[k] If they are withheld by some remains of respect for their preceptor, whence is it that their fathers, their brothers, their kinsmen, do not at this moment invoke against me the utmost severity of the laws? Why has Melitus neglected to avail himself of their testimony? It is because, far from accusing me, they have, unsolicited, hastened to assist and vindicate me.

"My death will not be to be imputed to the calumnies of Anytus and Melitus,[l] but to the hatred of those vain or unjust men whose ignorances or vices I have unmasked; a hatred which has already been the destruction of very many worthy persons, and will hereafter occasion the ruin of many more; for I ought not to flatter myself that it will be satiated with my punishment.

"I have drawn on myself this enmity by wishing to discover the meaning of an answer of the Pythia,

[g] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 17. [h] Xen. Apol. p. 703. [i] Id. ibid. p. 704. [k] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 33. [l] Id. ibid. p. 28.

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who had declared that I was the wisest of men."[m] Here loud murmurs of indignation were heard among the judges.[n] Socrates continued: "Astonished at this oracle, I interrogated, among the different classes of citizens, those who enjoyed a distinguished reputation; but I every where only found presumption and hypocrisy. I endeavoured to inspire them with doubts of their own merits, and I rendered them my irreconcileable enemies. I hence concluded that wisdom appertained only to the Divinity, and that the oracle, by pointing out to me as an example, only intended to signify that he is the wisest man who least thinks himself wise.[o] Should I be censured for having dedicated so many years to inquiries so dangerous, I shall reply, that we ought not to think either life or death of importance, when it is in our power to be useful to others. I believed myself destined to instruct mankind; I believed I had received such a mission from heaven.[p] I had defended, at the hazard of my life, the posts in which I had been stationed by the generals of my country, at Amphipolis, at Potidæa, and at Delium: and it was my duty to maintain, with still more courage, that which the gods have assigned me in the midst of you; nor could I abandon it without disobeying their orders, and rendering myself vile in my own eyes.[q]

"I will go still further. Should you this day even offer to acquit me on condition that I should keep

[m] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 21. This answer was, according to the scholiast on Aristophanes (in Nub. v. 144.), "Euripides is wise, but Socrates is the wisest of all men." [n] Xen. Apol. p. 703. [o] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23. [p] Id. ibid. p. 30. [q] Id. ibid. p. 28.

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silence in future,[r] I would say to you, O my judges! I doubtless love and honour you, but it is my duty to obey God rather than you; while I have breath I will never cease to raise my voice, as has heretofore been my practice, and say to all I see, Are you not ashamed to pursue after riches and honours, while you neglect the treasures of wisdom and virtue, which would adorn and render perfect your souls? I would unceasingly importune them with intreaties and questions; I would compel them to blush at their blindness, or their false virtues; and I would prove to them that they bestow their highest esteem on goods which merit only contempt.

"Such are the truths which the Divine Being has commanded me incessantly to declare to old and young, to citizens and strangers: and as my obedience to his orders is to you the greatest of his benefits, if you put me to death you will reject the gift of God, and you will not afterwards find any person animated with the same zeal. It is therefore your cause which I this day maintain, while I appear to defend my own. For indeed, Anytus and Melitus may calumniate, may banish, may deprive me of life; but never can it be in their power to harm me. They are more to be pitied than I am, since they are unjust.[s]

"To escape from their persecution I have not, after the example of others when accused, had recourse to clandestine intrigues or open solicitations. I have entertained too much respect for you to seek to move

[r] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 29. [s] Id. ibid. p. 30.

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your passions by my tears, or by those of my children and friends collected around me.[t] Such scenes are indeed proper to excite the emotions of pity on the stage, but here the voice of truth ought alone to be heard. You have taken a solemn oath to judge according to the laws. Should I induce you to violate that oath, I should indeed be guilty of impiety; but, more firmly persuaded than my adversaries of the existence of the Divine Being, I without fear commit myself to his justice and to yours."[u]

The judges of Socrates were for the most part persons taken from the dregs of the people, and destitute of knowledge or principles. Some of them considered his firmness as an insult, and others were offended at the praises he bestowed on himself.[x] The majority therefore voted him attainted and convicted; but his enemies only gained their point by a small number of voices.[y] They would have had still fewer, and even have been liable to punishment themselves, had he made the smallest effort to incline the judges in his favour.[z]

According to the laws of Athens, a second trial was necessary to decide on the punishment.[a] Melitus in his accusation had stated that the crime merited death. Socrates might have chosen between a fine, banishment, or perpetual imprisonment. He again addressed his judges, and said, that to specify any

[t] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 34. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 804. [u] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 35. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 722. [x] Xen. ibid. p. 707. [y] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 36. [z] Xen. Mem. lib. 4. p. 804. [a] Cicer. de Orat. c. 54. t. i. p. 182.

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punishment would be to confess himself guilty of a crime;[b] but that, as he had rendered the greatest services to the republic, he in reality deserved to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expense.[c] At these words, eighty of his judges, who had before voted in his favour, went over to the party of the prosecutor,[d] and judgment of death by poison was pronounced.*

Socrates received his sentence with the tranquillity of a man who during his whole life had learned to die.[e] In a third discourse he consoled those of his judges who had acquitted him, by observing that no evil can happen to the virtuous man, neither while he lives, nor after his death.[f] To those who had accused or condemned him, he represented, that they must incessantly suffer from the remorse of conscience[g] and the reproaches of men: that death being to him a gain, he felt no anger against them, though he had reason to complain of their hatred. He ended with these words: "It is time for us to depart; I to die, and you to continue to live; but whether of these be the better lot, is known only to the Divine Being."[h]

When he left the court to return to prison, no

[b] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 37. Xen. Apol. p. 705. [c] Plat. Apol. tom. i. p. 37. [d] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 42. * According to Plato (Apol. t. i. p. 38.) Socrates consented to propose a slight fine, for which some of his disciples, and Plato among others, should be security (Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 31.) Yet Xenophon makes him say, that he could not, without confessing that he was guilty, condemn himself to the smallest punishment. [e] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 64 et 67. [f] Id. Apol. t. i. p. 41. [g] Id. ibid. p. 705. Id. ibid. p. 39. [h] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 40 et 42.

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alteration was discernible either in his countenance or his gait. He said to his disciples, who melted into tears around him, Why do you weep now for the first time? Were you ignorant that Nature, when she granted me life, condemned me one day to resign it? I am in despair, replied the youth Apollodorus, to think that you should die innocent. Would you rather choose, replied Socrates, with a smile, that I should die guilty? He saw Anytus pass by, and said to his friends, How proud is that man of his triumph! He knows not that virtue must ever be victorious.[i]

The next day after his trial,* the priest of Apollo placed a crown on the stern of the galley which annually carries the offerings of the Athenians to Delos.[k] From the time of the performance of that ceremony to the return of the vessel, the law forbids the execution of any sentence of death.

Socrates passed thirty days in prison,[l] surrounded by his disciples, who, to assuage their grief, were continually coming to enjoy his company and conversation, believing at each visit that they saw and heard him for the last time.

One morning, when he awoke, he perceived Crito, one of his friends whom he particularly esteemed, seated near his bed.[m] You come sooner than ordi-

[i] Xen. Apol. p. 706. * *Le lendemain de son jugement;* but the words of Plato are, *τη προτεραία της δίκης, the day before his trial.* T. [k] Plat. in Phædon. tom. i. page 588. [l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. page 816. [m] Plat. in Crit. tom. i. p. 43.

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nary surely, said he to him: is it not yet very early? Yes, answered Crito; it is scarcely day.

Socrates. I am surprised the keeper of the prison would let you in.

Crito. He knows me; I have made him some trifling presents.

Socrates. Have you been here long?

Crito. Some time.

Socrates. Why did you not awake me?

Crito. You were in such a quiet sleep that I could not prevail on myself to disturb you. I had always admired the calmness of your mind, but at this moment it made a still more forcible impression on me.

Socrates. It would be a shame indeed if a man of my age should be disturbed at the approaches of death. But what has induced you to come so early?

Crito. Intelligence the most afflicting, not to you, but to me and your friends; the most cruel and dreadful intelligence.

Socrates. Is the ship returned?

Crito. It was seen yesterday evening off Sunium; it will no doubt arrive to-day; and to-morrow will be the day of your death.

Socrates. So let it be, since such is the will of the gods.*

* Crito thought the ship would arrive on that day at the Piræus; but it did not come till the next, and the death of Socrates was deferred for a day.

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Crito then represented to him, that, unable to bear the idea of his death, he had, with some friends, taken a resolution to facilitate his escape from prison; that the necessary measures were concerted for the following night; that a small sum of money would be sufficient to corrupt the keepers, and silence their accusers; that an honourable retreat might be procured for him in Thessaly, where he might lead a peaceful life; that he could not refuse to comply with their request, without failing in his duty to himself, to his children, whom he would leave in want, and to his friends, who would be for ever reproached with not having sacrificed all that they possessed to preserve his life.[n]

Oh, my dear Crito! replied Socrates, your zeal is not conformable to the principles I have constantly professed to follow, and which the most cruel torments shall never compel me to abandon.[o]

It will be first proper to reply to what you allege concerning the reproaches which you fear from men. You know that we are not to be guided by the opinion of the greater number, but by the decision of those who are able to distinguish justice from injustice, and truth from falsehood.[p] It is also necessary to dispel the fears with which you wish to inspire me for my children: they will receive from my friends the services which their generosity now offers to me.[q] Thus the whole question will be reduced to the in-

[n] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 44. [o] Id. ibid. p. 46. Xen. Apol. p. 705. [p] Plat. in Crit. p. 48. [q] Id. ibid. p. 54.

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quiry, whether it be conformable to justice that I should leave this place without the permission of the Athenians?[r]

Have we not frequently agreed, that in no circumstances it can be allowable to render injustice for injustice?[s] Have we not also established it as a principle, that the first duty of the citizen is to obey the laws, and that this can be dispensed with under no pretext? But would it not be to deprive them of all their power, and absolutely to annihilate them, were I to prevent their being carried into execution? Had I supposed I had reason to complain of them, I was at liberty, and it was in my power to remove into another country;[t] but I have hitherto borne their yoke with pleasure, and have a thousand times experienced the effects of their protection and beneficence; and now, because my enemies have abused them to my destruction, you wish me, that I may revenge myself on them, to destroy the laws, and conspire against my country, of which they are the support.

I shall add, that they had prepared me a resource. After my first trial I might have condemned myself to banishment only; but I chose to undergo a second, and I have openly declared that I would prefer death to exile.[u] Shall I then, regardless alike of my word and my duty, fly, to expose to foreign nations Socrates proscribed, disgraced, become the corrupter of the laws, and the enemy of authority, that I may yet live a few wretched and ignominious days? Shall I fly,

[r] Plat. in Crit. p. 48. [s] Id. ibid. p. 49. [t] Id. ibid. p. 51.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 52.

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to perpetuate the remembrance of my weakness and my crime in distant countries, where I can never dare again to pronounce the words justice and virtue without a conscious blush, and drawing on myself the most cruel reproaches? No, my friend; cease to persuade me; and suffer me to pursue the path which the gods have marked out for me.[x]

Two days after this conversation,[y] the eleven magistrates, whose office it is to see that criminals are executed according to their sentence, came early in the morning to the prison, to have his irons taken off, and give him notice that he was to die that day.[z] Many of his disciples afterwards entered. There were about twenty of them. They found with him his wife Xanthippe, with the youngest of his children in her arms. The moment she perceived them, she exclaimed, with loud cries and sobbings: Ah! my husband, your friends are come to visit you, and for the last time! Socrates having requested Crito to cause her to be sent home, she was taken away, uttering the most doleful lamentations, and tearing her face.[a]

Never had the disciples of Socrates seen him display such patience and courage; they could not look on him without being overwhelmed with grief, nor listen to him without the liveliest transports of pleasure. In his last conversation, he said to them, that it was not lawful for any one to deprive himself of life; because, as we are placed on earth as soldiers in

[x] Plat. in Crit. p. 54. [y] Id. in Phæd. p. 59. [z] Id. ibid. [a] Id. ibid. p. 60.

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a post assigned them by their general, we ought not to quit our station without the permission of the gods;[b] that, for himself, he was resigned to their will, and sighed after the moment which would bestow on him the happiness he had endeavoured to merit by his conduct through life.[c] From this discourse passing to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, he endeavoured to establish it by a multitude of proofs, which justified his hopes. "And even," said he, "though these hopes should be without foundation, besides that the sacrifices they required have not prevented me from being the happiest of men, they remove far from me the bitterness of death, and diffuse a pure and delicious joy over my last moments."[d]

"Thus," added he, "every man who, renouncing pleasure, has laboured to adorn his soul, not with foreign ornaments, but such as are suitable to it,—as justice, temperance, and other virtues,—cannot but possess an unshaken confidence, and quietly wait the hour of his departure. You will follow me when yours shall arrive; mine approaches; and, to use the expression of one of our poets, I hear already its voice which calls me."

Crito now asked him, whether he had no injunctions to lay on them with regard to his children or his affairs. "I have only to repeat," replied Socrates, "the advice I have frequently given you;—that you be virtuous. If you follow it, I shall not

[b] Plat. in Phæd. p. 60. [c] Id. ibid. p. 67 et 68. [d] Id. ibid. p. 91 et 114.

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need your promises; and if you neglect it, they will be useless to my family."[e]

He afterwards passed into a small apartment adjoining to bathe. Crito followed him: his other friends continued in the room he had left, and conversed together on the discourse they had just heard, and the situation in which they were soon to be left by his death. They already considered themselves as orphans deprived of the best of fathers, and less wept for him than for themselves. His three children were brought to him, two of whom were yet extremely young: he gave some orders to the women who came with them, and, after having sent them away, returned to his friends.[f]

A moment after, the keeper of the prison entered: "Socrates," said he, "I am certain that I shall not hear from you those imprecations with which I am usually loaded by persons in the same situation, to whom my office obliges me to give notice that it is time to drink the poison. As I have never seen any person in this place who possessed such firmness of mind and mildness of temper as you have always shown, I know well that you are not angry at me, and that you do not attribute to me your misfortunes; you are but too well acquainted with the authors of them: farewell! endeavour to submit to necessity." His tears scarcely permitted him to conclude what he had to say, and he retired to a corner of the prison that he might shed them without restraint. "Farewell!"

[e] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 115. [f] Id. ibid. p. 116 et 117.

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said Socrates to him in reply: "I will follow your advice:" and turning towards his friends, How well-behaved and honest is that man! said he. Since I have been here he has frequently come to converse with me.—And now see how he weeps.—Crito, he must be obeyed. Let the poison be brought, if it be ready: if not, let it be mixed as soon as possible.

Crito, in answer, represented that the sun was not yet set; and that others, in like circumstances, had been permitted to defer drinking the poison for some hours. "They," said Socrates, "had their reasons for what they did, and I have mine for acting differently." [8]

Crito then gave orders as he had been directed; and when the poison was ready, a servant brought the fatal cup; and Socrates having asked what he was to do, the man answered: "After you have drunk the potion, you must walk until you find your legs begin to grow heavy, and then lie down on your back." Immediately, without changing countenance, he took the cup with a steady hand, and, after having addressed a prayer to the gods, advanced it to his mouth.

In this dreadful moment, terror and dismay seized on all present, and involuntary tears streamed from every eye. Some to conceal them threw their mantles over their heads, and others hastily arose that he might not discover their agitation; but when,

[8] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 116.

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turning their eyes again upon him, they perceived that he had drunk off the poison, their grief, too long restrained, burst forth with violence; and their tears and sobbings redoubled when they heard the loud lamentations of the youth Apollodorus, who, after having wept the whole day, now made the prison resound with the most frantic cries.[h] "What are you doing, my friends?" said Socrates, without emotion: "I sent away the women that I might not witness such weakness. Resume your courage; I have always said that death ought to be accompanied with good omens."

In the mean time he continued to walk till he began to feel a heaviness in his legs, when he laid down on the bed and wrapped himself in his mantle. The man who had brought and given him the poison, pointed out to the persons present the successive progress of its effects. A mortal cold had already frozen his feet and legs, and was ready to invade the heart, when Socrates, raising his mantle, said to Crito: "We owe a cock to Æsculapius; forget not to pay the vow."* It shall be performed, replied Crito: but have you no other command? He returned no answer, but a moment after made a slight motion. The servant having uncovered him received his last look, and Crito closed his eyes.

Thus died the most religious, the most virtuous,

[h] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 117. * It was usual to sacrifice this bird to Æsculapius. (See Pompeius Festus de Signif. Verb. lib. 9. p. 189.)

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and the most happy of men ;[i] the only man, perhaps, who, without fear of being convicted of falsehood, might boldly affirm—I have never, either in word or deed, committed the smallest injustice.[k] *

[i] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 118. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 818.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 721 ; lib. 4. p. 805. * See note V. at the end of the volume.

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CHAPTER LXVIII.

Festivals and Mysteries of Eleusis.

I NOW proceed to speak of the most important article of the Athenian religion; of those mysteries, the origin of which is lost in the obscurity of time, of which the ceremonies inspire no less dread than veneration, and the secret of which has never been revealed but by some persons immediately condemned to death and the public execration;[l] for the law is not satisfied with depriving them of life and confiscating their goods,—the remembrance of their crime and punishment must be preserved on a column exposed to every eye.[m]

Among all the mysteries instituted in honour of different divinities, there are none so celebrated as those of the goddess Ceres; she herself, it is said, appointed the ceremonies. While she traversed the earth in search of Proserpine, who had been carried off by Pluto, she arrived in the plain of Eleusis, and, pleased at the reception she met with from the inhabitants, bestowed on them two signal benefits,—the art of agriculture, and the knowledge of the sacred doctrine.[n] The lesser mysteries, which serve as a

[l] Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 20. [m] Andocid. de Myst. page 7.
[n] Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 132. Aristid. Eleus. Orat. t. i. p. 450.

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preparation to the greater, were instituted in favour of Hercules.[o]

But let us leave such idle traditions to the vulgar, since it is of less importance to be acquainted with the authors of this religious system than to discover its object. It is asserted, that, wherever it has been introduced by the Athenians, it has diffused a spirit of union and humanity;[p] that it purifies the soul from its ignorance and pollution;[q] that it procures to the initiated the peculiar aid of the gods,[r] the means of arriving at the perfection of virtue, the serene happiness of a holy life,[s] and the hope of a peaceful death and endless felicity.[t] The initiated shall occupy a distinguished place in the Elysian Fields,[u] they shall enjoy a pure light,[x] and shall live in the bosom of the Divinity;[y] while those who have not participated in the mysteries, shall dwell after death in places of darkness and horror.[z]

To shun so fearful an alternative, the Greeks repair from all parts to solicit at Eleusis the pledge of happiness there offered them. From the most

[o] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 5. [p] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 14. t. iii. p. 148. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 155. [q] Augustin. de Trinit. lib. 4. cap. 10. tom. viii. p. 819. Procl. in Rep. Plat. p. 369. [r] Sopat. Divis. Quæst. tom. i. p. 370. [s] Isocr. Paneg. p. 335. [t] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 335. Cicer. ibid. Crinag. in Anthol. lib. 1. c. 28. [u] Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 30. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 371. [x] Pind. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. p. 518. Aristoph. in Ran. v 155 et 457. Spanh. ibid. p. 304. Sophocl. ap. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. [y] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 69 et 81. [z] Id. ibid. p. 69. Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 493. Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 363. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 145. Spanh. ibid. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 31. p. 876.

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tender age the Athenians are admitted to the ceremonies of initiation,[a] and those who have never participated in them, request to be admitted to them before they die;[b] for the menaces and representations of the punishments of another life, which they had before regarded as a subject of derision, then make the strongest impression on their minds, and fill them with fears, which are sometimes of the most abject kind.[c]

Yet some enlightened persons do not believe that to be virtuous there is any necessity for such an association. Socrates would never be initiated, and his refusal gave birth to some doubts concerning his religion.[d] Diogenes was once advised, in my presence, to contract this sacred engagement; but he answered: "Patæcion the notorious robber obtained initiation; Epaminondas and Agesilaus never solicited it; is it possible I should believe the former will enjoy the bliss of the Elysian Fields, while the latter shall be dragged through the mire of the infernal shades?"[e]

All the Greeks may claim to be admitted to initiation into the mysteries,[f] but the people of every other nation are excluded by an ancient law.[g] I had been promised that this law should be dispensed with in

[a] Terent. in Phorm. act 1. scen. 1. v. 15. Donat. ibid. Turneb. Adv. lib. 3. c. 6. Mem. de l'Acad. des. Bell. Lettr. tom. iv. p. 654. Note of Madame Dacier on the passage in Terence. [b] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 374. [c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. p. 330. Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 279. [d] Lucian. in Demonact. t. ii. p. 380. [e] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 39. [f] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65. [g] Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 19.

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my behalf. I had in my favour the title of citizen of Athens, and the powerful authority of examples.[h] But as it would have been necessary that I should have confined myself to observe certain practices, and abstain from different kinds of eatables, which might have laid me under a disagreeable restraint, I contented myself with making some researches concerning this institution, and obtaining information of various particulars relative to it, which I may make known without fear of incurring the guilt of perjury. I shall annex them to the account of the last journey that I made to Eleusis, on occasion of the greater mysteries, which are annually[i] celebrated there on the 15th of the month Boedromion.[k]* The festival of the lesser mysteries is likewise annual, and is observed six months before.

During the celebration of the former, all judicial prosecutions are rigorously forbidden, nor may any seizure be made on any debtor already condemned by the laws. On the day after the festival, the senate makes a strict inquiry into the conduct of those who are accused of having, by acts of violence, or in any other manner, disturbed the regularities of the ceremonies;[l] and if they are found guilty, they are condemned to death, or to pay heavy fines.[m] This severity

[h] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 19. [i] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 65. [k] Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173. Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 10. Id. in Themist. p. 408. * In the Metonic Cycle, the month Boedromion began on one of the days between the 23d of August and the 21st of September. [l] Andocid. de Myster. p. 15, &c. [m] Demosth. in Mid. p. 631. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 36.

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is perhaps necessary to maintain order among such an immense multitude as is assembled at Eleusis.[n] In time of war, the Athenians send deputies to all parts of Greece, to offer passports to those who desire to attend at the festivals,[o] whether they have received initiation, or only come as spectators.[p]

I departed for Eleusis, in company with some friends, on the 14th of Boedromion, in the 2d year of the 109th Olympiad.* The gate by which we leave Athens to go to Eleusis is named the sacred gate, and the road which leads thither the sacred way.[q] The distance is about a hundred stadia.† After having crossed a rather high hill, which is covered with laurel roses,[r] we entered the territory of Eleusis, and arrived on the banks of two small streams, consecrated, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proserpine. I mention them, because the priests of the temple only are permitted to fish in them, and because their water is salt, and made use of in the ceremonies of initiation.[s]

Further on, upon the bridge over a river which bears the name of Cephisus, like that which flows

[n] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 65. [o] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 416. [p] Lys. in Andocid. p. 106. * In this year the 1st of Boedromion corresponded with the 20th of our month of September, and the 14th of Boedromion with the 4th of October. The festival began on the 5th of October in the year 343 before Christ. [q] Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 27. † About $3\frac{3}{4}$ leagues. [r] Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 161. Wheler's Journey, book 6. p. 425. Pococke, t. ii. part 2. p. 170. [s] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 38. p. 91. Hesych. in Ῥειτοι. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 161. Wheler, book 6. p. 425.

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near Athens, we were attacked with gross jokes and pleasantries by great numbers of the populace, who were assembled there, and who, during the festival, there take their station, as in a kind of ambuscade, to divert themselves at the expense of those who pass by, and especially the persons of most eminence in the republic.[t] Such was the reception, as tradition relates, which Ceres, on her arrival at Eleusis, here met with from an old woman named Iambe.[u]

At a small distance from the sea, a large hill extends into the plain, from the north-west to the south-east, on the brow and eastern extremity of which stands the famous temple of Ceres and Proserpine.[x] Under it is the small town of Eleusis. In the environs, and on the hill itself, are several sacred monuments, such as chapels and altars:[y] and rich individuals of Athens have here pleasant and beautiful villas.[z]

The temple, built under the administration of Pericles, of marble of Pentelicus,[a] on the rock itself, which was levelled, fronts the east. It is equally vast and magnificent. Its length, from north to south, is about 384 feet,* and its breadth about 325.†[b] The most celebrated artists were employed in its construction and decoration.[c]

[t] Strab. lib. 9. p. 400. Hesych. et Suid. in Γεφυρ. [u] Apol. lib. 1. page 17. [x] Manuscr. Note of Mr. Wood. Chandler's Travels in Greece, page 190. [y] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 38. p. 93. [z] Demosth. in Mid. p. 628. [a] Wood, Manuscr. Not. Wheler's Journey, book 6. p. 427. * About 363 French (or 386 Eng.) feet. † About 307 French (or 327 Eng.) feet. [b] Wood, Manuscr. Note. Wheler, ibid. [c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p. 125. Plut. in Pericl. t. xxi. p. 93.

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Among the ministers of this temple there are four principal ones.[d] The first is the hierophant: his name signifies he who reveals the sacred things;[e] and his principal function is to initiate into the mysteries. He appears in a distinguished robe, his head adorned with a diadem, and his hair flowing on his shoulders.[f] His age must be sufficiently mature to suit the gravity of his ministry, and his voice so sonorous that it may be heard with pleasure.[g] His priesthood is for life.[h] From the moment he is invested with it he must confine himself to celibacy; and it is pretended that by rubbing his body with hemlock, he is enabled more easily to observe this law.[i]

The office of the second minister is to carry the sacred torch in the ceremonies, and purify those who present themselves for initiation; he, like the hierophant, has the right to wear a diadem.[k] The two others are, the sacred herald, and the assistant at the altar: the office of the former is to command the profane to retire, and to maintain silence and serious thoughtfulness among the initiated; that of the latter, is to assist the others in their several functions.[l]

The respect they claim from the sanctity of their ministry is still more heightened by their illustrious birth. The hierophant is chosen from the house of the Eumolpidæ,[m] one of the most ancient in Athens;

[d] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 13. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 93. [e] Hesych. in Ἱεροφ. [f] Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. c. 21. p. 441. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 202. [g] Arrian. ibid. Philostr. in Vit. Soph. lib. 2. p. 600. [h] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 14. p. 142. [i] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 13. [k] Id. ibid. c. 14. [l] Id. ibid. [m] Hesych. in Ευμολπ.

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and the sacred herald from that of the Ceryces, which is a branch of the Eumolpidæ.[n] The two others are chosen from families equally illustrious;[o] and all the four have under them several subaltern ministers, such as interpreters, chanters, and officers whose place it is to arrange the processions, and regulate the minutiæ of the different ceremonies.[p]

There are also at Eleusis priestesses consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine. They may initiate certain persons;[q] and, on particular days in the year, offer sacrifices for individuals.[r]

The second of the archons presides at the festivals, and is especially charged to maintain order in them, and to see that no irregularities are admitted into the celebration of the religious rites. These last several days. The initiated sometimes interrupt their sleep to continue their ceremonies. We saw them, during the night, leave the inclosure of the temple, walking in silence two by two, and each carrying a lighted torch.[s]

When they re-entered the secret asylum, they hastened their pace; and I was informed that this was intended to represent the wanderings of Ceres and Proserpine; and that, in their rapid evolutions, they shook their torches, and frequently handed them from one to another. The flame which they agitate,

[n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 96. [o] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 37. p. 89. [p] Poll. lib. 1. c. 1. § 35. [q] Suid. in Φιλλειδ. [r] Demosth. in Neær. p. 880. Tayl. Not. ad Demosth. t. iii. p. 623. [s] Wheeler's Journey, book 6. p. 428. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 166.

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it is said, purifies their souls, and is the emblem of that light by which they are to be illuminated.[t]

On one of the days games were celebrated in honour of the goddesses.[u] Famous athletæ, from the different countries of Greece, repaired to the festival; and the reward of the conqueror was a measure of barley, grown on the neighbouring plain: the inhabitants of which, instructed by Ceres, were the first who cultivated that species of corn.[x]

On the sixth day, which is the most splendid, the priests, accompanied by the initiated, carried from Athens to Eleusis the statue of Iacchus,[y] who is said to have been the son either of Ceres or of Proserpine. The god was crowned with myrtle,[z] and bore a torch.[a] Nearly thirty thousand persons followed,[b] and the air resounded with the name of Iacchus.[c] The procession, regulated by the sound of musical instruments, and the chanting of hymns,[d] was sometimes interrupted by sacrifices and dances.[e] The statue was brought into the temple at Eleusis; and afterward carried back to its own, with the same pomp and ceremonies.

Many of those who followed in the procession had yet been only admitted into the lesser mysteries, celebrated annually in a small temple situate near the Ilissus, at the gates of Athens.[f] There one of the

[t] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 26. [u] Id. ibid. c. 28. [x] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 38. p. 93. [y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 754. Meurs. in Eleus. c. 27. [z] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 333. [a] Pausan. ib. 1. c. 2. p. 6. [b] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 65. [c] Aristoph. lib. v. 319. Hesych. in Ἰακ. [d] Vell. Paterc. lib. 1. c. 4. [e] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210. [f] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 7. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5. c. 17. § 1. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p. 361. Steph. Hesych. et Etymol. Magn. in Ἀγρ.

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priests of the second order is appointed to examine and prepare the candidates.[g] He excludes them if they have been guilty of sorcery, or of any atrocious crime; and especially if they have committed homicide, even though involuntarily.[h] He enjoins the others frequent expiations; and, convincing them of the necessity of preferring the light of truth to the darkness of error,[i] disseminates in their minds the seeds of the sacred doctrine.[k] He exhorts them to repress every violent passion;[l] and, by purity of mind and heart, to merit the inestimable benefit of initiation.[m]

Their noviciate sometimes continues several years, and must last at least one entire year.[n] During the time of their trial, the candidates attend the festivals of Eleusis; but remain without the gate of the temple, and anxiously wait the hour in which they shall be permitted to enter.[o]

This hour had at length arrived. The following night was appointed for the ceremonies of initiation into the greater mysteries. As a preparation for them, sacrifices and prayers were offered for the prosperity of the state,[p] by the second archon, attended by four assistants, chosen by the people.[q] The novices were crowned with myrtle.[r]

[g] Hesych. in Ὑδραν. [h] Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173. Meurs. in Eleus. c. 19. [i] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 325; lib. 7. p. 845. [k] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 689. [l] Porphyr. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 142. [m] Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. c. 21. p. 440. Liban. Declam. 19. t. i. p. 495. [n] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 8. [o] Petav. ad Themist. p. 414. [p] Aristot. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐπιμελ. [q] Lys. in Andocid. p. 105. Meurs. in Eleus. c. 15. [r] Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Col. v. 713.

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The robes in which they are initiated are supposed to acquire such sanctity by the ceremony, that the greater part continue to wear them till they are quite worn out; and others make them into swaddling-clothes for their children, or hang them up in the temple.[s] We saw the candidates enter the sacred enclosure; and the next day one of the newly initiated, with whom I was particularly intimate, gave me an account of some ceremonies to which he had been witness.

We found, said he, the priests of the temple habited in their pontifical vestments. The hierophant, who on this occasion represents the Creator of the universe, was invested with symbols significatory of the supreme power; the torch-bearer, and the assistant at the altar, with those of the sun and moon; and the sacred herald, with those of Mercury.[t]

No sooner had we taken our places, than the herald proclaimed: "Far hence be the profane, the impious, and all those whose souls are polluted with guilt."[u] After this notice, death would be the punishment of any person who should have the rashness to remain in the assembly without having been initiated.[x] The second priest caused the skins of the victims offered in sacrifice to be spread under our feet, and purified us anew.[y] The ritual of initiation was read aloud,[z] and hymns were sung in honour of Ceres.

[s] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 12. [t] Euseb. Præpar. Evan. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 117. [u] Sueton. in Ner. c. 34. Capitol. in Anton. Philos. p. 33. Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. p. 119. [x] Liv. lib. 31. c. 14. [y] Hesych. et Suid. in Διὸς Κώδ. [z] Meurs. in Eleus. c. 10.

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Soon after a hollow sound was heard, and the earth seemed to groan beneath our feet:[a] we heard thunder; and perceived, by the glare of lightning, phantoms and spectres wondering in darkness,[b] and filling the holy places with howlings that chilled us with terror, and groans that rent our hearts. Agonising pain, corroding care, poverty, diseases, and death, presented themselves to our eyes in dreadful and funereal forms.[c] The hierophant explained to us these several emblems, and his animated descriptions still added to our inquietude and our fears.

In the mean time, by the assistance of a feeble light,[d] we advanced towards that part of the infernal shades where souls are purified, till they arrive at the abodes of happiness. Here, amid a multitude of plaintive cries, we heard the bitter lamentations of those who had deprived themselves of life.[e] "They are punished," said the hierophant, "because they have deserted the post which the gods had assigned them in this world."[f]

Scarcely had he uttered these words, than the brazen gates, opening with a dreadful noise, disclosed to our view the horrors of Tartarus.[g] We heard the clanking of chains, and the cries of the tortured; and, amid piercing shrieks and lamentable

[a] Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 255. Claud. de Rapt. Proserp. lib. 1. v. 7. [b] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 12. p. 202. Themist. Orat. 20. p. 235. Meurs. c. 11. Dissert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 299. [c] Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 275. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 4. p. 167. [d] Lucian. in Catapl. t. i. p. 643. [e] Virg. ibid. v. 343. [f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62. Id. de Leg. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 870. [g] Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 572.

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groans, distinguished at intervals these words: "Learn, by our example, to reverence the gods, to be just and grateful."[h] For hardness of heart, neglect of parents, and every species of ingratitude, there meet their punishment; as also every crime that escapes the vengeance of human laws, or tends to destroy the worship of the gods.[i] We saw the furies, armed with scourges, relentlessly pursuing the guilty.[k]

These terrific scenes, incessantly rendered more animated by the sonorous and majestic voice of the hierophant, who appeared to be the minister of divine vengeance, filled us with dread; and scarcely could we recover from our apprehensions, when we were led into delightful groves and smiling meadows, the abodes of happiness, and the image of the Elysian Fields, illuminated by a serene and pure light, and where harmonious voices uttered the most enchanting sounds.[l] Thence we were brought into the sanctuary, where we beheld the statue of the goddess resplendent with light and adorned with all its richest ornaments.[m] Here our trials were to end, and here we saw and heard things which it is not permitted to reveal.* I shall only add, that, in the intoxication of a holy joy, we sang hymns in which we congratulated ourselves on our happiness.[n] †

[h] Virg. Æneid. v. 620. Pind. Pyth. 2. v. 40. [i] Id. ibid. v. 608. Dissert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 332. [k] Id. ibid. Lucian. in Catapl. t. i. p. 644. [l] Id. ibid. v. 638. Stob. Serm. 119. p. 604. [m] Themist. Orat. 20. p. 235. * See note VI. at the end of the volume. [n] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 451. † See note VII. at the end of the volume.

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Such was the account I received from my newly initiated friend. I learned from another a circumstance which he had omitted. On one of the days of the festival, the hierophant uncovered the mystic baskets, which are carried in the processions, and are the objects of public veneration. They contain the sacred symbols, which may not be seen by the profane; but which, however, are only cakes of different shapes, some grains of salt, and other things,[o] relative either to the history of Ceres, or to the doctrines taught in the mysteries. The initiated, after having removed them from one basket into another, affirm that they have feasted, and drank Ciceon.[p]*

Among those who have not been initiated, I have frequently heard men of sense and learning communicate to each other their doubts and opinions concerning the doctrines taught in the mysteries of Ceres. Do they only contain, said they, the history of nature and its revolutions ?[q] or are they solely intended to show, that, by means of laws and agriculture,[r] man has been advanced from the state of barbarism to that of civilised life? But why should ideas like these be covered with the veil of secrecy ? A disciple of Plato modestly proposed a conjecture which I shall here give my readers.†

[o] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 19. [p] Id. ibid. p. 18. Meurs. in Eleus. c. 10. * A kind of drink, or rather broth, which was offered to Ceres (Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 17. Athen. lib. 11. c. 12. p. 492. Casaub. ib. p. 512. Turneb. Adv. lib. 12. c. 8.) [q] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 42. t. ii. p. 433. [r] Varr. ap. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 7. c. 20. t. vii. p. 177.
† See note VIII. at the end of the volume.

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It appears undeniable, said he, that the necessity of the rewards and punishments which await us after death was inculcated in the mysteries, and that the initiated were presented with a representation of the different destinies prepared for men in this and the other world.[s] It also appears certain that they were taught by the hierophant that, among that great number of divinities which are adored by the multitude, some are pure genii, who are the ministers of the will of the Supreme Being, and regulate, subservient to his commands, all the motions of the universe;[t] while others have only been mere mortals, whose tombs are still to be seen in different parts of Greece.[u]

It is not, therefore, natural to imagine, that the institutors of the mysteries, wishing to diffuse a more just idea of the Supreme Being,[x] earnestly endeavoured to establish a doctrine of which traces more or less manifest are found in the opinions and ceremonies of almost all nations—that there is one God, who is the author and end of all things? And this doctrine is, in my opinion, the momentous secret revealed to the initiated.

The establishment of this religious association was doubtless favoured by political views. Polytheism had become general, when it was perceived what fatal consequences resulted to morality from a wor-

[s] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 3. t. i. p. 501; lib. 8. p. 777. Dissert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 175. [t] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 202. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 417. [u] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 13. t. ii. p. 243. Id. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. c. 24. t. ii. p. 454. Lactant. Divin. Instit. lib. 5. c. 20. [x] Etymol. Magn. in Θεὸς.

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ship, the objects of which were only multiplied to authorise every species of injustice and vice; but this worship was equally agreeable to the people from its antiquity, and even from its imperfections. Far, therefore, from fruitlessly attempting to abolish it, endeavours were made by the legislator to counterbalance it by a more pure religion, which should repair the injuries done to society by polytheism. As the multitude are more easily restrained by the laws than by manners, it was thought they might be abandoned to superstitions of which it would be easy to prevent the abuse; but, as the more enlightened citizens are influenced more by manners than by the laws, it was judged proper to communicate to them a doctrine adapted to render them virtuous.

You are now able, added this disciple of Plato, to conceive why the gods are permitted to be introduced in ludicrous situations on the stage of Athens. The magistrates, delivered from the false ideas of polytheism, attempt not to repress a liberty which can do no injury to the people, and which contributes to their amusement.

You likewise understand how two religions so opposite in their doctrines have subsisted for so long a time in the same place, without disturbance or rivalry; it is because, though their doctrines are different, their language is the same; and truth shows that respect to error which it may be expected to require.

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The mysteries externally have the appearance of the religious worship adopted of the people. The hymns which are sung in public, and the greater part of the ceremonies, present to us several circumstances of the rape of Proserpine, the pursuit of Ceres, and her arrival and stay at Eleusis. The environs of that town are covered with monuments erected in honour of the goddess; and the stone on which it is pretended she sat down when exhausted with fatigue, is still shown.[y] Thus, on the one hand, persons of little knowledge and discernment suffer themselves to be persuaded by appearances that favour their prejudices; and, on the other, the initiated, penetrating to the spirit of the mysteries, believe they may rely on the purity of their intentions.

Whatever foundation there may be for the conjecture I have here given, initiation is at present little more than an idle ceremony: those who receive it are not more virtuous than others; they every day violate the vow they have made to abstain from fowl, fish, pomegranates, beans, and many other kinds of pulse and fruits.[z] Many among them have contracted this sacred engagement in a manner by no means suitable to its object; for, almost in our time, the government, to retrieve the exhausted state of the finances, has been known to grant permission that the right of participating in the mysteries should be purchased,[a] and women of dissolute life have long

[y] Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 3. p. 353. Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173. p. 691.

[z] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4.

[a] Apsin. de Art. Rhetor.

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been admitted to initiation:[b] a time, therefore, must arrive when the most sacred of associations will be entirely corrupted and disfigured.[c]

[b] Isæ. Orat. de Hæred. Philoctem. page 61. Demosth. in Neær. p. 862. [c] Clem Alex. in Protrept. p. 19.

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CHAPTER LXIX.

History of the Grecian Theatre.

About that time I finished my researches relative to the dramatic art, concerning the origin and progress of which writers are divided, since the various states of Greece assert their different claims to the honour of having given it birth;[a] but I have preferred the traditions of the Athenians, because I have believed them to be the most probable.

This most regular and most sublime of all the arts took birth in the bosom of tumultuous pleasures, and the extravagances of intoxication.[b] Let us convey ourselves in imagination about three centuries back from the present time.

In the festivals of Bacchus, solemnised in the cities with less ceremony and pomp, but with a more lively joy, than they are now celebrated,[c] hymns were sung which were the offspring of the true or feigned ecstasies of a poetical delirium; I mean to speak of those dithyrambics which sometimes displayed the flights of genius, and still more frequently the obscure flashes of a heated imagination. While these resounded in the astonished ears of the multitude, choruses of Bacchants and Fauns, ranged

[a] Buleng. de Theatr. lib. 1. c. 2. Arist. de Poet. t. ii. c. 3. p. 654. [b] Athen. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 40. [c] Plut. de Cupid. Divit. t. ii. p. 527.

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around certain obscene images, which they carried in triumphal procession,[d] chanted lascivious songs, and sometimes sacrificed individuals to public ridicule.

A still greater licentiousness reigned in the worship paid to the same divinity by the inhabitants of the country, and especially at the season when they gathered the fruits of his beneficence. Vintagers, besmeared with wine-lees, and intoxicated with joy and the juice of the grape, rode forth in their carts, and attacked each other on the road with gross sarcasms, revenging themselves on their neighbours with ridicule, and on the rich by publishing their injustice.[e]

Among the poets who flourished at that time, some celebrated the great actions and adventures of gods and heroes,[f] and others attacked with asperity the vices and absurdities of individuals.—The former took Homer for their model, and supported themselves by his example, of which they made an improper use. Homer, the most tragic of poets,[g] the model of all who have succeeded him, had, in the Iliad and the Odyssey, brought to perfection the heroic poem, and in his Margites had employed pleasantry.[h] But as the charm of his works depends in a great measure on the passions and motion with which he knew to animate them, the poets who

[d] Plut. de Cupid. Divit. t. ii. p. 527. [e] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 295. Schol. in Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xli. Donat. Fragm. de Comœd. et Tragœd. Buleng. de Theatr. lib. 1. c. 6. [f] Arist. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 654. [g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. p. 598 et 607. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152. [h] Aristot. ibid.

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came after him endeavoured to introduce into theirs an action which might excite emotion or mirth in the spectators; some even attempted to produce both, and ventured certain rude essays, which have since been styled indifferently either tragedies or comedies, because they unite the characters of those two dramas.[i] The authors of these sketches have been distinguished by no discovery; they only form in the history of the art a succession of names which it would be useless to recal to light.[k]

The necessity and power of theatrical interest was already known. The hymns in honour of Bacchus, while they described his rapid progress and splendid conquests, became imitative;[l] and in the contests of the Pythian games, the players on the flute who entered into competition, were enjoined by an express law to represent successively the circumstances that had preceded, accompanied, and followed the victory of Apollo over Python.

Some years after this regulation,[n] Susarion and Thespis, both born in a small borough of Attica, named Icaria,[o] appeared each at the head of a company of actors, the one on a kind of stage, the other in a cart.* The former attacked the vices and

[i] Schol. Aristoph. in Proleg. p. xii. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 260. Prid. in Marm. Oxon. p. 420. [k] Suid. in Θεσπ. [l] Aristot. Probl. c. 19. probl. 15. t. ii. p. 764. [m] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 813. Poll. lib. 4. c. 10. § 84. Prid. in Marm. Oxon. p. 419. [n] Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 40 et 44. [o] Suid. in Θεσπ. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 275. Athen. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 40. * Susarion represented his first pieces towards the year 580 before Christ. Some years after, Thespis made his first attempts in Tragedy, and acted his Alcestis in 536.

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absurdities of his time; and the latter treated more noble subjects, which he took from history.

The comedies of Susarion were in the same taste with those indecent and satirical farces which are still performed in some of the cities of Greece.[p] They were long the favourite entertainment of the country people.[q] Athens did not adopt this species of exhibition until after it was brought to perfection in Sicily.[r]

Thespis had more than once seen in the festivals, in which as yet hymns only were sung, one of the singers mounted on a table, form a kind of dialogue with the chorus.[s] From this hint he conceived the idea of introducing into his tragedies an actor who by simple recitals, introduced at intervals, should give relief to the chorus, divide the action, and render it more interesting.[t] This happy innovation, together with some other liberties in which he had allowed himself, gave alarm to the legislator of Athens, who was more able than any other person to discern the value or danger of the novelty. Solon condemned a species of composition in which the ancient traditions were disguised by fictions. "If we applaud falsehood in our public exhibitions," said he to Thespis, "we shall soon find that it will insinuate itself into our most sacred engagements."[u]

The excessive approbation and delight with which

[p] Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 655. [q] Id. ibid. c. 3. p. 654. [r] Id. ibid. c. 5. p. 656. [s] Poll. lib. 4. c. 19. § 123. [t] Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 56. [u] Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 95. Diog. Laërt. lib. 1. § 59.

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both the city and country received the pieces of Thespis and Susarion, at once justified and rendered useless the suspicious foresight of Solon. The poets, who till then had only exercised their genius in dithyrambics and licentious satire, struck with the elegant forms which these species of composition began to assume, dedicated their talents to tragedy and comedy.[x] Soon after a greater variety was introduced in the subjects of the former of these poems. Those who judge of their pleasures only from habit, exclaimed, that these subjects were foreign to the worship of Bacchus;[y] but the greater number thronged with still more eagerness after the new pieces.

Phrynichus, the disciple of Thespis, made choice of that kind of verse which is most suitable to the drama, was the author of some other changes,[z] and left tragedy in its infancy.

Æschylus received it from his hands enveloped in a rude vestment, its visage covered with false colours, or a mask inexpressive of character,[a] without either grace or dignity in its motions, inspiring the desire of an interest which it with difficulty excited, still attached to the buffooneries which had amused its infant years,[b] and expressing its conceptions sometimes with elegance and dignity, but frequently in a feeble and low style, polluted with gross obscenities.

[x] Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 655. [y] Plut. Sympos. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 615. [z] Suid. in Φρύν. [a] Id. in Θεσπ. [b] Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 655.

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The father of tragedy, for so this great man may be called,[c] had received from nature a strong and ardent mind. His silence and gravity announced the austerity of his character.[d] He had signalised his courage in the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, in which so many Athenians distinguished themselves by their valour.[e] From his earliest years he had been attentive to the lessons of those poets who, living near to the heroic times, conceived ideas as sublime as the illustrious deeds which were then achieved.[f] The history of those remote ages presented to his lively imagination signal successes and reverses of fortune, thrones drenched with blood, impetuous and devouring passions, sublime virtues, atrocious crimes, and dreadful acts of vengeance; every where he beheld the impress of grandeur, and frequently that of ferocity.

The better to insure the effect of these scenes, it was necessary to detach them from the whole, in which they were included by the ancient poets; and this had been already done by the authors of the dithyrambics and the earliest tragedies; but they had neglected to bring them near to us. As we are infinitely more affected by those woes to which we are witnesses, than by those of which we only hear the recital,[g] Æschylus employed all the resources of theatrical representation to bring the time and place

[c] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 6. c. 11. p. 245. [d] Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 827. [e] Vit. Æschyl. [f] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1062. [g] Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 2. c. 8. t. ii. p. 559.

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of the scene before the eyes of the spectator. The illusion then became a reality.

In his first tragedies he introduced a second actor;[h] and afterward, copying the example of Sophocles, who had just entered on his theatrical career, he admitted a third,[i] and sometimes even a fourth.[k] By this multiplicity of personages, one of his actors became the hero of the piece, and attracted to himself the principal interest; and as the chorus now held only a subaltern station, Æschylus took care to shorten its part, and perhaps even carried this precaution too far.[l]

He is censured for having admitted mute characters into his drama. Achilles, after the death of his friend, and Niobe, after the destruction of her children, appear on the stage and remain, during several scenes, motionless, with their heads covered with a veil, and without uttering a word;[m] but if their eyes had overflown with tears, and they had poured forth the bitterest lamentations, could they have produced an effect so terrible as this veil, this silence, and this abandonment to grief?

In some of his pieces the exposition of his subject has too much extent,[n] and in others is deficient in perspicuity.[o] Though he frequently offends against

[h] Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 655. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 56. [i] Æschyl. in Choeph. v. 655, &c. v. 900, &c. Id. in Eumenid. Dacier. Rem. sur la Poet. d'Aristote, p. 50. [k] Poll. lib. 4. c. 15. § 110. [l] Aristoph. in Ran. 945. Aristot. de Poet. cap. 4. [m] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 942. Schol. ibid. Spanh. ibid. p. 311. [n] Æschyl. in Agamem. [o] Arist. in Ran. v. 1163.

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the rules that have been since established, he appears to have had a glimpse of almost all of them.

We may say of Æschylus what he has himself said of his hero Hippomedon:

———Before him strides
Gigantic Terror, tow'ring to the skies.[p]

He incessantly inspires a profound and salutary terror, for he only overwhelms the mind with violent shocks, to raise it again immediately by the idea which he gives us of its strength. His heroes prefer being crushed by the thunderbolt to committing an act of baseness, and their courage is more inflexible than the fatal law of necessity.—He nevertheless knew to set bounds to those emotions which he laboured so earnestly to excite, and constantly avoided polluting the stage with blood;[q] for he wished to produce scenes that should be terrible, but not horrible.

He rarely causes tears to flow,[r] or excites pity, either because Nature had refused him that gentle sensibility which pants to communicate itself to others, or rather, perhaps, because he feared to render his auditors effeminate. He has never exhibited on the stage a Phædra or a Sthenobœa, nor ever painted the delicious joys or wild furies of love.[s] He beheld in the different transports of that passion only weakness or guilt, of pernicious tendency to morals, and he wished

[p] Sept. contr. Theb. v. 506. [q] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1064. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 6. cap. 11. page 244. [r] Vit. Æschyl. [s] Aristoph. in Rhan. v. 1075.

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that nothing might diminish our esteem for those whose fate we are compelled to lament.

Let us continue to follow the immense strides he has made in the dramatic career, and examine the manner in which he has acquitted himself in the different parts of tragedy, that is to say in the fable, manners, sentiments, diction, decoration, and music.[t]

His plots are extremely simple: he disregarded or was not sufficiently acquainted with the art of avoiding improbabilities,[u] complicating and developing an action, closely connecting its different parts, and hastening or retarding it by discoveries, and other unforeseen accidents.[x] He sometimes only interests us by the recital of facts, and the vivacity of the dialogue;[y] and at other times by the vigour of his style, and the terror of his scenes.[z] He appears to have considered the unity of action and the time as essential, but that of place as less necessary.[a]

The chorus with him is no longer confined to chanting certain odes or songs, but makes a part of the whole. It is the comforter of the wretched, the counsellor of kings, the terror of tyrants, and the confidant of all. Sometimes it participates in the action during its whole continuance.[b] This is what the successors of Æschylus ought more frequently to have practised, and what he has not always practised himself.

[t] Aristot. de Poet. c. 6. t. ii. p. 656. [u] Dion. Chrys. Orat. 52. p. 549. Æschyl. in Agam. [x] Vit. Æschyl. [y] Æschyl. in Sept. contr. Theb. [z] Id. in Suppl. et Eumen. [a] Id. in Eumen. [b] Id. in Suppl. et Eumen.

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The character and manners of his personages are suitable, and rarely fail in consistency. He usually chooses his models from the heroic times, and sustains his characters at the elevation to which Homer had raised his heroes.[c] He delights in exhibiting vigorous and free minds, superior to fear, devoted to their country, animated by an insatiable thirst of glory and of combats, more noble than those of the present age, and such as he wished to form for the defence of Greece;[d] for he wrote in the time of the Persian war.

As he inclines more to excite terror than pity, far from endeavouring to soften the harsh features of certain characters, he seeks only to render them more ferocious; but without injury to the theatrical interest. Clytemnestra, after having murdered her husband, relates the atrocious deed with bitter derision, and the intrepidity of remorseless villany. Her crime would be horrible, if it were not an act of justice in her eyes, if it were not decreed by Fate, and if it were not requisite, according to the received principles of the heroic ages, that blood unjustly shed should be washed away by blood.[e] Clytemnestra lets us see her jealousy of Cassandra, and her love for Ægisthus;[f] but motives so feeble did not guide her hand. Nature and the gods[g] have compelled her to take vengeance; and thus she addresses the chorus of Argives:

> I tell thee, my firm soul disdains to fear.
> Be thou dispos'd t' applaud, or censure me,

[c] Dion. Chrys. Orat. 52. p. 542. [d] Æschyl. in Prom. v. 178. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1046, 1073. [e] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 1571. [f] Id. ibid. v. 1445. [g] Id. ibid. v. 1494.

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I reck it not: there Agamemnón lies;
My husband, slaughter'd by this hand: I dare
Avow his death, and justify the deed.[h]
———I struck him twice, and twice
He groan'd, then died. A third time, as he lay,
I gored him with a wound, a grateful present
To the stern god, that in the realms below
Reigns o'er the dead: there let him take his seat.
He lay; and spouting from his wound a stream
Of blood, bedew'd me with these crimson drops.
I glory in them like the genial earth,
When the warm show'rs of heav'n descend, and wake
The flow'rets to unfold their vermeil leaves.[i]
—For Iphigenia, my lamented child,
Whom he unjustly slew, he justly died.
—Thou say'st, and say'st aloud I did this deed:
Say not that I, that Agamemnon's wife
Did it. The Fury fatal to this house,
In vengeance for Thyestes' horrid feast,
Assum'd this form, and, with her ancient rage,
Hath for the children sacrificed the man.[k]

POTTER.

This idea will become more manifest from the following reflection. Among the disorders and mysteries of nature, none made a more forcible impression on Æschylus than the strange destiny of the human race: with respect to man, the crimes he commits, and the woes of which he is the victim; and with regard to the powers above him, celestial vengeance and blind fatality;[l] by the former of which mortals are pursued when guilty, and by the latter impelled when

[h] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 1411. [i] Id. ibid. v. 1398. [k] Id. ibid. v. 1506. [l] Id. in Prom. v. 105 et 513.

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unfortunate. Such is the doctrine which he had derived from his intercourse with the sages,[m] which he has inculcated in almost all his dramas, and which, holding the minds of the audience in continual terror, incessantly exhorted them not to draw on them the anger of the gods, and to submit to the strokes of fate.[n] Hence the sovereign contempt which he testifies for the illusive goods by which we are dazzled, and that force of eloquence with which he pourtrays the mischiefs of Fortune. Cassandra exclaims with indignation:

> This is the state of man: in prosperous fortune,
> A shadow, passing light, throws to the ground
> Joy's baseless fabric: in adversity,
> Comes Malice with a sponge moistened in gall,
> And wipes each beauteous character away:
> More than the first this melts my soul to pity.° *
>
> POTTER.

In his time no other style was known for heroic composition but that of the epopœïa and that of the dithyrambic. As they suited the elevation of his ideas and sentiments, Æschylus, without enfeebling them, transferred them to tragedy.—Hurried away by an enthusiasm which he was unable to govern, he lavishes epithets, metaphors, every figurative expression of the emotions of the soul, and whatever may give weight,

[m] Eurip. in Alc. v. 962. [n] Æschyl. in Pers. v. 293. ° Id. in Agam. v. 1335. * The French reads, "Oh human grandeur! brilliant and vain image, which a shadow may obscure, a drop of water efface! The prosperity of man more excites my pity than his misfortunes."

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strength, and magnificence, to language,[p] or animate and render it impassioned. Beneath his vigorous pencil, narrative, sentiments, and maxims, are changed into images, which are striking for their beauty or their singularity. In that tragedy,[q] which may with propriety be called the offspring of Mars,[r] the soldier who had been sent by Eteocles to reconnoitre the army of the Argives, thus addresses his sovereign:

"Illustrious king of Thebes, I bring thee tidings
Of firm assurance from the foe; these eyes
Beheld each circumstance. Seven valiant chiefs
Slew on the black-orb'd shield the victim bull,
And dipping in the gore their furious hands,
In solemn oath attest the god of war,
Bellona, and the carnage-loving power
Of Terror, sworn from their firm base to rend
These walls, and lay their ramparts in the dust;
Or, dying, with their warm blood steep this earth."[s]

POTTER.

He says of a man of consummate prudence: "He reaps those sage and generous resolutions which spring in the deep furrows of his soul:"[t]* and elsewhere; "The intelligence by which I am animated has descended from heaven to earth, and cries to me incessantly: Bestow but a slight regard on what

[p] Vit. Æschyl. Dionys. Halic. de Prisc. Script. cap. 2. t. v. p. 423. Phrynic. ap. Phot. p. 327. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 280. [q] Sept. contr. Theb. [r] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1053. Plut. in Sympos. lib. 7. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 715. [s] Æschyl. Sept. contr. Theb. Long. de Subl. cap. 15. [t] Id. ibid. v. 599. * The Scholiast observes, that Plato has used the same expression in a passage in his Republic.

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is mortal."[u] He thus warns a free people early to watch over the conduct of a citizen dangerous from his abilities and his riches: "Beware how you nurse up a young lion, how you caress him while he yet fears you, or how you resist him when he is grown a stranger to fear."[x]

Yet these shining passages are accompanied, in some of his works, by an obscurity which arises not only from his extreme conciseness and the boldness of his figures, but also from new words[y] with which he affected to enrich or invigorate his style. Æschylus conceived that his heroes ought not to express their ideas like the crowd, and that their diction should be more elevated than vulgar language:[z] it indeed frequently rises above all known language. To give it vigour, words of excessive length, harshly constructed from the fragments of several others, arise in the midst of a sentence, like those proud towers, to use the comparison of Aristophanes,[a] which overlook the ramparts of a city.

The eloquence of Æschylus was too nervous to submit to the refinement of elegance, harmony, and correctness;[b] and his flights too daring to expose him to frequent extravagance and failures. His style is in general noble and sublime, in certain parts grand to excess, and pompous to inflation;[c] but sometimes

[u] Æschyl. in Niob. ap. Æschyl. Fragm. p. 641. [x] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1478. [y] Dionys. Halic. de Prisc. Script. c. 2. t. v. p. 423. [z] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1092. [a] Id. ibid. v. 1036. [b] Vit. Æschyl. Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. c. 22. t. v. p. 150. Longin. de Sublim. c. 15. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1295. [c] Quinctil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 632.

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degraded and disgusting by ignoble comparisons,[d] a puerile play on words,[e] and other defects which are common to this author with all those who possess more genius than taste. But notwithstanding his faults, he merits a distinguished rank among the most celebrated poets of Greece.

It was not sufficient that the noble and elevated style of tragedy should leave in the minds of the auditors a strong impression of grandeur, to captivate the multitude, it was requisite that every part of the spectacle should concur to produce the same effect. It was then the general opinion that nature, by bestowing on the ancient heroes a more lofty stature,[f] had impressed on their persons a majesty which procured them as much respect from the people as the ensigns of dignity by which they were attended. Æschylus therefore raised his actors on high stilts or buskins.[g] He covered their features, which were frequently disagreeable, with a mask that concealed their irregularity.[h] He clothed them in flowing and magnificent robes, the form of which was so decent, that the priests of Ceres have not blushed to adopt it.[i] The inferior actors were also provided with masks and dresses suited to their parts.

Instead of those wretched scaffolds which were formerly erected in haste, he obtained a theatre[k] fur-

[d] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 530 et 875. [e] Id. ibid. v. 698. [f] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 2. c. 21. p. 73; lib. 4. c. 16. p. 152. Aul. Gell. lib. 3. c. 10. [g] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 6. c. 11. p. 245. Id. Vit. Soph. lib. 1. p. 492. Lucian. de Salt. § 27. t. ii. p. 284. Vit. Æschyl. ap. Robort. p. 11. [h] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 278. [i] Athen. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 21. [k] Horat. ibid. v. 279.

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nished with machines, and embellished with decorations.[l] Here the sound of the trumpet was reverberated, incense was seen to burn on the altars, the shades of the dead to arise from the tomb, and the Furies to rush from the gulfs of Tartarus. In one of his pieces these infernal divines appeared, for the first time, with masks of a horrid paleness, torches in their hands, serpents intertwined in their hairs,[m] and followed by a numerous retinue of dreadful spectres. It is said that, at the sight of them, and the sound of their terrific howlings, terror seized on the whole assembly, women miscarried, and children expired with fear;[n] and that the magistrates, to prevent similar accidents in future, commanded that the chorus should consist only of fifteen actors instead of fifty.[o]

The effect of so many new objects could not but astonish the spectators; nor were they less surprised and delighted at the intelligence displayed in the performance of the actors, whom Æschylus almost always exercised himself. He regulated their steps, and taught them to give additional force to the action by new and expressive gestures.

He instructed them still more effectually by his example, as he performed with them in his pieces.[p] Sometimes he called in the assistance of an able master of the choruses, named Telestes, who had

[l] Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p. 124. Vit. Æschyl. ap. Robort. p. 11. Vit. Æschyl. ap. Stanl. p. 702. [m] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 423. Schol. ibid. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 68. [n] Vit. Æschyl. [o] Poll. lib. 4. c. 15. § 110. [p] Athen. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 21.

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brought the art of gesture to perfection. In the representation of the Seven Chiefs before Thebes, he performed with such truth and expression, that his action might have supplied the place of the words.[q]

We have already said that Æschylus had transferred to tragedy the style of the epopœïa and the dithyrambic; he also applied to it the lofty modulations and impetuous rhythmus of certain airs, or *nomi*, calculated to excite courage;[r] but he did not adopt those innovations which began to disfigure the ancient music. His choral chant is full of grandeur and decorum; and constantly in the diatonic genus,[s] which is the most simple and natural of all.

Being falsely accused of having revealed in one of his dramas the Eleusinian mysteries, he with difficulty escaped the fury of the fanatic multitude:[t] yet he forgave the Athenians this injustice, because his life only had been in danger. But when he saw the pieces of his rivals crowned in preference to his own —"I must leave to time," said he, "to restore mine to the place they merit;"[u] and abandoning his country, went to reside in Sicily,[x] where king Hiero loaded him with benefactions and honours. He died there a short time after, aged about seventy years.* The

[q] Aristocl. ap. Athen. ibid. p. 22. [r] Timarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1315. Æschyl. in Agam. v. 1162. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 285. [s] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1137. [t] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. p. 29. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 19. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. c. 14. p. 461. [u] Athen. lib. 8. c. 8. p. 347. [x] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483.
* The year 456 before Christ. (Marm. Oxon. epoch. 60. Corsin. Fast. Att. t. iii. p. 119.)

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following epitaph, which he composed himself,[y] was engraven on his tomb:—"Here lies Æschylus, the son of Euphorion, born in Attica. He died in the fertile country of Gela. The Persians and the woods of Marathon will for ever attest his valour."—At the time when he wrote these lines he was doubtless disgusted with literary fame, and knew no glory more illustrious than that of arms. The Athenians decreed honours to his memory; and authors who design to dedicate their genius to the theatre, have more than once been seen to go to make libations, and recite their works, at his tomb.[z]

I have spoken at some length on the merit of this poet, because almost all the novelties he introduced were discoveries; and because it was more difficult, with the models which he had before his eyes, to raise tragedy to the elevation at which he left it, than, after him, to bring it to perfection.[a]

The progress of the art was extremely rapid. Æschylus was born some years after Thespis had acted his Alcestis.* He had for contemporaries and competitors Chœrilus, Pratinas, and Phrynicus, whose glory he eclipsed; and Sophocles, who rivalled his own.

Sophocles was born of a reputable family of

[y] Schol. Vit. Æschyl. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 604. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 35. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627. [z] Vit. Æschyl. ap. Stanl. [a] Schol. Vit. Æschyl. ap. Robort. p. 11. * Thespis brought his Alcestis on the stage in the year 536 before Christ; Æschylus was born in the year 525 before the same æra, and Sophocles towards the year 497.

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Athens, in the 4th year of the 70th Olympiad,[b] about twenty-seven years after the birth of Æschylus, and fourteen before that of Euripides.[c]

I shall not relate, that, after the battle of Salamis, Sophocles, placed at the head of a chorus of youths who chanted songs of victory around a trophy, attracted the attention of every eye by the beauty of his person, and united in his favour the suffrages of all who heard the music of his lyre;[d] that, on different occasions, important employments, both civil and military,* were confided to him;[e] that, at the age of eighty,[f] an ungrateful son having accused him of being no longer capable of conducting his affairs, he made no other defence than by reading to the audience his tragedy of Œdipus at Colonus, which he had just finished: that his judges, with indignation at such a charge, confirmed him in the possession of his rights, and that all who were present conducted him home in triumph;[g] that he died at the age of ninety-one years[h] after having enjoyed a glory the splendour of which increases from day to day. These facts, however honourable, would not do him sufficient honour.

[b] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 57. Corsin. Fast. Att. tom. ii. p. 49. [c] Vit. Sophocl. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 75. Marm. Oxon. ibid. [d] Schol. Vit. Soph. Athen. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 20. *He commanded the army in conjunction with Pericles: this, however, does not prove that he possessed military talents, but only that he was one of the ten generals annually appointed by lot. [e] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 156. Cicer. de Offic. lib. 4. c. 40. t. iii. p. 220. [f] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 15. t. iii. p. 601. [g] Cicer. de Senect. c. 7. t. ii. p. 301. Plut. an Seni. tom. ii. p. 785. Val. Max. lib. 8. c. 7. Extern. No. 12. [h] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 22. Marm. Oxon. epoch. 65.

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But I shall say that the mildness of his disposition, and the graces of his mind, acquired him a great number of friends, which he preserved during his whole life;[j] that, without pride or regret, he resisted the solicitations of kings who endeavoured to draw him to their courts;[k] that as, in the age in which pleasure reigns triumphant, he was sometimes led astray by the passion of love,[l] far from repining at old age, he congratulated himself on having arrived at it, as a slave delivered from his bonds, and no longer obliged to obey the caprices of a ferocious tyrant;[m] that at the death of Euripides his rival, which happened a short time before his own, he appeared in mourning, participating in the public grief, and did not permit his actors, in a piece which he brought on the stage, to appear with crowns on their heads.[n]

He at first applied himself to lyric poetry:[o] but his genius soon urged him to pursue a more glorious track; and his first success finally confirmed him in his choice. He was twenty-eight years of age when he became a competitor with Æschylus, who was then in possession of the stage.[p] At the representation of the pieces, the first of the archons, who presided at the contest, could not draw by lot the judges who were to confer the crown. The spectators, divided in

[j] Schol. Vit. Soph. [k] Id. ibid. [l] Athen. lib. 13. p. 592 et 603. [m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 329. Plut. t. ii. p. 1094. Cicer. de Senect. c. 14. t. iii. p. 309. Athen. lib. 12. c. 1. p. 510. Stob. serm. 6. page 78. [n] Thom. Mag. in Vit. Euripid. [o] Suid. in Σοφοκλ. [p] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 57. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. ii. p. 48; t. iii. p. 189.

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their opinions, made the theatre resound with their clamours: which continually grew more loud, when the ten generals of the republic, having at their head Cimon, who by his victories and generosity had attained the summit of renown and influence, ascended the stage, and approached the altar of Bacchus, to make the accustomed libations before they retired. Their presence, and the ceremony which they were performing, appeased the tumult; and the archon, having chosen them to name the victor, made them take their seats, and the customary oath. The plurality of voices was in favour of Sophocles;[q] and Æschylus, offended at the preference which had been given to his rival, retired soon after into Sicily.

So splendid a triumph seemed for ever to ensure to Sophocles the sovereignty of the stage; but it had been witnessed by the youth Euripides; who aspired to emulate it, even while he was taking lessons of eloquence under Prodicus, and of philosophy under Anaxagoras. He was seen, therefore, at the age of eighteen,[r] to enter the theatrical career, which he and Sophocles ran with rival speed, like two spirited coursers who with equal ardour pant for the victory.

Though Euripides possessed many pleasing qualities of mind, his severity in general banished from his air the graces of the smile, and the brilliant colours of joy.[s] He, as well as Pericles, had contracted this habit from the example of Anaxagoras,

[q] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483. [r] Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 15. c. 20. [s] Alex. Ætol. ap. Aul. Gell. ibid.

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their common master.[t] Jests and pleasantries excited his indignation. "I hate," says he in one of his pieces, "those useless men who have no other merit than that of indulging their mirth, at the expense of the sages who despise them."[u] In this expression he alluded especially to the authors of comedies: who, on their side, endeavoured to cast an odium on his morals, as they did to calumniate those of the philosophers. But to this accusation it had been a sufficient answer to have observed, that Euripides was the friend of Socrates, who was seldom present at theatrical representations, except when the pieces of that poet were acted.[x]

He had exhibited on the stage princesses polluted with crimes; and on these occasions had more than once launched forth into violent invectives against women in general.[y] Endeavours were therefore made to irritate them against him.[z] Some maintained that he hated them;[a] but others, more intelligent, affirmed that he loved them with ardour.[b] "Euripides detests women," said, one day, some person. "Yes," replied Sophocles, "but it is in his tragedies."[c]

Various reasons induced him, towards the close of his life, to retire to Archelaus king of Macedon, who invited to his court all who had distinguished themselves in literature and the arts. He there found

[t] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 154. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 13. [u] Euripid. in Melan. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 613. [x] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 13. [y] Euripid. in Melan. ap. Barn. t. ii. p. 480. [z] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. Barn. in Vit. Euripid. No. 19. [a] Schol. Argum. in Thesmoph. p. 472. [b] Athen. lib. 13. c. 8. p. 603. [c] Hieron. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 557. Stob. serm. 6. p. 80.

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Zeuxis and Timotheus,[d] of whom the former had been the author of a revolution in painting, and the latter in music. He also found there the poet Agatho, his friend,[e] one of the most worthy and amiable men of his time.[f] He it was who said to Archelaus—"A king ought to remember three things: that he rules over men; that he ought to rule them according to the laws; and that he will not rule over them for ever."[g] Euripides spoke his sentiments with equal freedom: to which he might claim a right, since he solicited no favour. On a certain occasion, when it was customary to make some little presents to the sovereign, as a token of attachment and respect, he did not appear among the crowd of flatterers and courtiers, who were eager to acquit themselves of this duty; and when Archelaus slightly noticed his neglect, Euripides replied,—"When the poor man gives, he asks."[h]

He died some years after, aged about seventy-six. The Athenians sent deputies to Macedon, to solicit that his body might be brought back to Athens: but Archelaus, who had already given public signs of his grief, refused to grant the request; and considered it as an honour to his states to preserve the remains of a great man. He caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to him, near his capital, on the banks of a stream, the water of which is so excellent that it in-

[d] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 17. Plut. in Apophth. t. ii. p. 177. [e] Ælian. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 21. [f] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 84. [g] Stob. serm. 44. p. 308. [h] Euripid. in Archel. ap. Barn. t. ii. p. 456. v. 11. [i] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 64.

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vites the traveller to stop,[k] and, consequently, contemplate the monument which meets his eyes. At the same time the Athenians erected to him the cenotaph, on the road which leads from the city to the Piræus.[l] They pronounce his name with respect, and sometimes with transport. At Salamis, the place of his birth, they were eager to show me a grotto in which it is pretended he composed the greater part of his pieces;[m] in like manner, at the village of Colonus, the inhabitants more than once pointed out to me the house in which Sophocles had passed a part of his life.[n]

Athens lost these two celebrated poets almost at the same time. Scarcely had they closed their eyes, when Aristophanes, in a piece acted with success,[o] represented Bacchus, disgusted with the wretched tragedies which were performed at his festivals, descending to the infernal shades to bring back Euripides. On his arrival he finds the court of Pluto filled with dissensions, the cause of which is honourable to poetry. Near the throne of that god are placed several other thrones, on which are seated those poets who had attained to the greatest excellence in the more noble and sublime kinds of poetry,[q] but which they are obliged to yield when men of superior genius appear. Æschylus is seated on the

[k] Plin. lib. 31. c. 2. t. ii. p. 550. Vitruv. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 163. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59. Anthol. Græc. p. 273. Suid. in Εὐριπίδ. [l] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 6. Thom. Mag. Vit. Eurip. [m] Philoch. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 15. c. 20. [n] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. c. 1. t. ii. p. 197. [o] Argum. Aristoph. in Ran. p. 115, 116. [p] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 773.

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throne of tragedy, to which Euripides makes claim; and the merits of each are to be discussed. The latter is supported by a great number of persons destitute of refinement and taste, who have been seduced by the false ornaments of his eloquence. Sophocles declares for Æschylus; ready to acknowledge him for his master if he is victor; and, if he is vanquished, to dispute the crown with Euripides. The competitors enter the lists; and each, armed with the shafts of satire, extols the merit of his own pieces, and depresses that of his rival's. Judgment is to be pronounced by Bacchus, who long continues undetermined, but at length decides in favour of Æschylus; who, before he leaves the shades, earnestly requests that, during his absence, Sophocles may take his place.[q]

Notwithstanding the prejudices and hatred of Aristophanes against Euripides, his decision, in assigning the first place to Æschylus, the second to Sophocles, and the third to Euripides, was conformable to the opinion of the greater part of the Athenians. Without either assenting to or combating it, I shall proceed to state the changes which the two latter made in the work of the former.

I have said above, that Sophocles had introduced a third actor in his first pieces; and I shall not insist on the new decorations with which he enriched the scene, and the new symbols which he placed in the hands of some of his characters.[r] He censured in

[q] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1563. [r] Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 655. Suid. in Σοφ. Schol. in Vit. Soph.

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Æschylus three defects; the excessive elevation of his ideas, the gigantic style of his expressions, and the difficult conduct of his plots; and these faults he flattered himself he had avoided.[s]

If the models which the stage presents to us are too much elevated above us, the calamities they exhibit cannot excite our compassion, nor the examples they hold forth tend to our instruction. The heroes of Sophocles are at that precise distance to which our admiration and the interest we feel can attain. As they are raised above us without being at a great distance from us, whatever relates to them is neither too foreign nor too familiar; and as they are subject to weaknesses in the most dreadful reverses of fortune,[t] the result is a sublime pathos which especially characterises this poet.

He so much respected the boundaries of true grandeur, that, through fear of overstepping, it sometimes happens that he does not even arrive at them. In the midst of his most rapid career, and at the moment when he is about universally to communicate his ardent flame, he is seen to stop short, and to become extinct.[u] It may be affirmed that he preferred failure to extravagance.

He was not able to dwell on the weaknesses of the human heart, nor on ignoble crimes. He required minds of strength and sensibility, and therefore interesting; souls which might be shaken, but not overwhelmed, nor inflated, by misfortune.

[s] Plut. de Profect. Virt. t. ii. p. 79. [t] Dionys. Halic. de Vet. Script. Sens. c. 2. t. v. p. 423. [u] Longin. de Sublim. c. 33.

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By reducing heroism to its just standard, Sophocles lowered the style of tragedy, and banished those expressions which a wild imagination had dictated to Æschylus, and which diffused terror through the souls of the spectators. His style, like that of Homer, is full of strength, magnificence, sublimity, and mildness.[x] Even in depicting the most violent passions, he happily suits his style to the dignity of his personages.[y]

Æschylus painted men greater than they can be, Sophocles as they ought to be, and Euripides as they are.[z] The two former had neglected passions, and situations, which the latter thought capable of producing great effects. He sometimes represented princesses inflamed with love, and respiring only adultery and crimes;[a] and sometimes kings debased by calamity to such poverty as to be covered with rags, and solicit a wretched alms.[b] These scenes, in which no resemblance was discernible of the manner of Æschylus or Sophocles, at first disgusted the spectators. It was said, that under no pretext ought the character and rank of the heroes of the stage to be so degraded; that it was highly reprehensible to pourtray with so much art images so shameful, and dangerous to supply vice with the authority of great examples.[c]

But these were no longer the times in which the

[x] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 52. p. 552. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 682. Schol. Vit. Sophocl. [y] Dionys. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cens. cap. 2. tom. v. page 423. [z] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 25. tom. ii. page 673. [a] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 874 et 1075. [b] Id. in Nub. v. 919. Schol. ibid. Id. in Ran. v. 866 et 1095. Schol. ibid. Id. in Archarn. v. 411. Schol. ibid. [c] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1082.

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laws of Greece inflicted a punishment on those artists who did not treat their subject with a certain decency.[d] The minds of men became enervated, and the boundaries of propriety were enlarged from day to day. The greater part of the Athenians were less offended at the attacks which the pieces of Euripides made on received ideas, than hurried away by the sentiments with which he had animated them; for this poet, capable of managing at pleasure all the passions of the soul, is especially admirable when he paints the furies of love, or excites the emotions of pity:[e] then, surpassing himself, he sometimes attains the sublime, for which he seems not to have been intended by nature.[f] The Athenians compassionated the fate of the guilty Phædra, and wept over the sufferings of the unhappy Telephus; and their tears were sufficient vindication of the author.

While he was accused of enervating tragedy, he had proposed to render it the school of wisdom.—In his writings are found the systems of Anaxagoras, his master, on the origin of being;[g] and the precepts of that morality of which Socrates, his friend, was then investigating the principles. But as the Athenians had acquired a taste for the artificial eloquence in which Prodicus had given him lessons, he principally directed his attention to delight their ears: and thus

[d] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 4. [e] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 632. Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. § 26. [f] Longin. de Sublim. c. 15 et 39. [g] Walck. Diatrib. in Eurip. c. 4 et 5.

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the doctrines of philosophy and the ornaments of rhetoric were introduced into tragedy; and this innovation still more distinguished Euripides from the writers by whom he had been preceded.

In the pieces of Æschylus and Sophocles, the passions, eager to arrive at their goal, deal not in maxims and reflexions, which would retard their progress. It is especially observable of the latter of these authors, that, as he presses rapidly forwards, he frequently, almost without seeming to intend it, paints a character at a single stroke, and displays the secret sentiments of the personages he exhibits on the stage. Thus, in his Antigone, a word which falls, as it were by accident, from that princess, discovers her love for the son of Creon.[h]

Euripides multiplied sentences and reflexions.[i] He made it a pleasure or a duty to display his knowledge, and frequently indulged in rhetorical forms of expression.[k] Hence the different judgments that have been passed on this writer, and the different points of view in which he may be considered.—As a philosopher he had a great number of partisans. The disciples of Anaxagoras and those of Socrates, after the example of their masters, congratulated themselves on seeing their doctrines applauded in the theatre; and though they did not pardon their new interpreter for having admitted some expressions too favourable to despotism, they[l] declared openly for a writer who

[h] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 578. [i] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 632. Dion. Chrysost. orat. 52. p. 553. [k] Dionys. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 423. [l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 568.

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inspired the love of moral duties and of virtue; and who, extending his views still further, loudly proclaimed that the gods ought not to be accused of so many shameful passions, but those men only by whom they were attributed to them;[m] and as he forcibly insisted on the important doctrines of morality, he was placed among the number of the sages,[n] and will for ever be regarded as the philosopher of the stage.[o]

His eloquence, which sometimes degenerates into a redundant profusion of words,[p] has not rendered him less celebrated among orators in general, and those of the bar in particular. He persuades by the warmth of his sentiments, and convinces by the address with which he introduces his answers and replies.[q]

The beauties which the philosophers and orators admire in his writings are absolute faults in the eyes of his censurers. They maintain that such a number of rhetorical phrases, so many maxims and reflexions, learned digressions, and idle disputes,[r] diminish the interest, and reduce Euripides, in this respect, much below Sophocles, who has said nothing which has not its utility.[s]

[m] Eurip. in Ion. v. 442; in Hercul. Fur. v. 1341. [n] Æschin. in Tim. p. 283. Oracul. Delph. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 144. [o] Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 8. Athen. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 158; lib. 13. c. 1. p. 561. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. c. 13. p. 279. [p] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1101. Plut. de Audit. t. ii. p. 45. [q] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 632. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 52. p. 551. [r] Quintil. ibid. Aristoph. in Ran, v. 787, 973, 1101. [s] Dionys. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cens. tom. v. p. 423.

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Æschylus had preserved in his style the bold figures of the dithyrambic, and Sophocles the magnificence of the epic poem: Euripides fixed the language of tragedy; he retained scarcely any expressions that are especially appropriated to poetry;[t] but he so judiciously selected and employed those of ordinary language, that, under their happy combination, the feebleness of the thought seemed to disappear, and the most common word to become ennobled."[u] Such is the magic of that enchanting style, which, preserving a just medium between meanness and inflation, is always elegant, clear, harmonious, flowing, and so flexible, that it seems to adapt itself without effort to every feeling of the soul.[x]

It was nevertheless with the greatest labour that he wrote verses so easy and natural. Like Plato, Zeuxis, and all those who have aspired to attain to perfection, he examined his works with the severity of a rival, and solicitously amended them with the tenderness of a father.[y] He once said that three of his verses had cost him the labour of three days.—"I could have written a hundred in that time," said a contemporary poet of ordinary abilities. "I believe it," replied Euripides, "but they would have lived only three days."[z]

[t] Walck. Diatrib. in Eurip. c. 9. p. 96. [u] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585. Longin. de Sublim. cap. 39. p. 217. [x] Dionys. Halic. de Comp. Verb. c. 23. t. v. p. 173. Id. de Vet. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 423. [y] Longin. de Sublim. c. 15. p. 108. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 52. p. 551. [z] Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 7. Extern. No. 1.

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Sophocles admitted into his choruses the Phrygian harmony,[a] the object of which is to moderate and attemper the passions, and which is adapted to the worship of the gods.[b] Euripides, who favoured the innovations made by Timotheus in the ancient music,[c] employed all the modes, and especially those, the sweetness and softness of which accorded with the genius of his poetry. The audience were astonished to hear in the theatre effeminate tones, and sometimes divisions on a single syllable.[d] The author was quickly represented as a feeble artist, who, incapable of raising himself to the sublimity of tragedy, had depressed tragedy to the level of his own inferior abilities; and, by consequence, had deprived all its parts of that weight and gravity which is essential to them;[e] and by adapting airs without dignity to words destitute of elevation, endeavoured to substitute ornament for beauty, and artifice for strength. "Let Euripides sing," says Aristophanes: "let him take a lyre, or rather a pair of shells,[f] for that is the only accompaniment his verses can bear."

At present no one would venture a similar criticism; but, in the time of Aristophanes, many persons, accustomed from their infancy to the lofty and majestic style of the ancient tragedy, feared to yield to the impression of the novel sounds they heard. The graces have at length relaxed the severity of the

[a] Aristox. ap. Schol. in Vit. Soph. [b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 399. [c] Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 795. [d] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1336, 1349, et 1390. [e] Id. ibid. v. 971. [f] Id. ibid. v. 1340. Didym. ap. Athen. lib. 14. c. 4. p. 6.

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rules, and but a short time has been requisite to obtain them this triumph.

With respect to the conduct of the pieces, the superior excellence of Sophocles is generally acknowledged; it may even be demonstrated, that almost all the laws of tragedy have been formed from his dramas: but as in point of taste the analysis of a good work is almost always a bad one, because the true and regular beauties in it lose a part of their value, it will suffice to say, in general, that this writer has avoided the essential faults which are objected to his rival.

Euripides rarely succeeded in the disposition of his subjects;[g] sometimes he offends against probability, sometimes the incidents are forced, and sometimes the action wants unity; almost always the complications and developements of his plots are in some respect imperfect; and his choruses have frequently only an indirect relation to the action.[h]

He invented the method of explaining his subject in a prologue, or long preface, almost entirely detached from the piece, in which usually one of the persons of the drama[i] comes forward, and frigidly details all the events antecedent or relative to the action, gives his own genealogy, or that of one of the principal characters,[k] informs us of the occasion of his descent from

[g] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 662. Remarq. de Dacier, p. 197. [h] Aristot. ibid. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 666. Dacier, ibid. p. 315. [i] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 977. Corneille, 1er Discours sur le Poëme Dramat. p. 25. [k] Euripid. in Hercul. Fur.; in Phœniss.; in Electr. &c.

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heaven, if he is a deity, or who has called him forth from the tomb, if a mortal; and announces himself to the spectators by declaring his name.—I am the goddess Venus.[l]—I am Mercury, son of Maia.[m]—I am Polydorus, son of Hecuba.[n]—I am Jocasta.[o]—I am Andromache.[p]—Iphigenia, appearing alone on the stage, thus begins her soliloquy:[q]

> To Pisa, by the fleetest coursers borne,
> Comes Pelops, son of Tantalus, and weds
> The virgin daughter of Œnomaus:
> From her sprung Atreus; Menelaus from him
> And Agamemnon; I from him derive
> My birth; his Iphigenia, by his queen
> Daughter of Tyndarus.*
>
> POTTER.

After this genealogy, which has been happily parodied by Aristophanes in one of his comedies,[r] the princess continues to tell herself that her father caused her to be brought to Aulis, under pretext of marrying her to Achilles, but in reality to sacrifice her to Diana; and that this goddess, having put a hind in her place at the altar, conveyed her away into Tauris, where reigned a king named Thoas, a name he had received on account of his speed, which might be

[l] Euripid. in Hippol. [m] Id. in Ion. [n] Id. in Hecub. [o] Id. in Phœniss. [p] Id. in Androm. [q] Id. in Iphig. in Taur. * Father Brumoy, who endeavours to palliate the defects of the ancients, begins this scene by these words, which are not in Euripides: "Ah! wretched Iphigenia! must thy misfortunes be ever present to thy remembrance?" [r] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 47.

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compared to the flight of birds.* After recounting some other circumstances, she concludes by relating a dream by which she had been terrified, and which she interprets to presage the death of Orestes, her brother.

In the pieces of Æschylus and Sophocles a happy artifice elucidated the subject from the earliest scenes. Euripides himself seems to have stolen their secret in his Medea, and his Iphigenia in Aulis. Yet though his manner in general is destitute of art, it is not condemned by critics of great abilities.[s] What is more strange is, that, in some of his prologues, as if to weaken the interest which he wished to inspire, he previously informs us of the greater part of those events by which he should excite our surprise.[t] We likewise find him making slaves discourse like philosophers,[u] and kings like slaves.[x] Sometimes, to please the people, he makes long digressions, of which his piece of The Suppliants affords a remarkable example.

Theseus has assembled the Athenian army, and is waiting for the final resolution of Creon, king of Thebes, before he marches against that prince.—At this moment the herald of Creon arrives, and demands to speak to the king of Athens. "You will seek him

* Euripides derives the name of Thoas from the Greek word θοὸς, which signifies *swift of foot*. Though this etymology were as just as it is false, it must still appear very strange to meet with it here. [s] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 14. t. ii. p. 600. Euripid. in Hecub.; in Hippol. [u] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 980. Schol. ibid. in Acharn. v. 395 et 400. Schol. ibid. Orig. in Cels. lib. 7. p. 356. [x] Euripid. in Alcest. v. 675, &c.

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in vain," says Theseus; "this is a free city, and the sovereign power is in the hands of all the citizens." At these words the herald declaims seventeen verses against the democratical form of government.[y] Theseus grows impatient, treats him as a prolix haranguer, and employs seven-and-twenty lines to depict the inconveniences of the kingly power. After this misplaced dispute, the herald acquits himself of his commission. It seems that Euripides chose rather to give the reins to his genius than to restrain it by the rules of propriety; and that he was more attentive to the interest of philosophy than to that of his subject.

In the following chapter I shall remark other faults, some of which are common to him with Sophocles; but as they have not obscured the glory of either, we ought hence to conclude that the beauties which adorn their works were of a superior order. It must also be added in favour of Euripides, that the greater part of his pieces, having a calamitous catastrophe, produced the most striking effect, and caused him to be considered as the most tragic of all dramatic poets.[z]

The theatre presented an abundant harvest of laurels to the poets whose abilities it called from obscurity. From Æschylus to the present time, in the space of about a century and a half, a number of authors have eagerly laboured to smooth or embellish the track which genius had recently opened. I shall

[y] Euripid. in Suppl. v. 409.

[z] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 662.

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leave to their productions to make them known to posterity, and only mention some of those whose success or vain attempts may throw a light on the history of the art, or afford instruction to those by whom it is cultivated.

Phrynichus, the disciple of Thespis, and rival of Æschylus, introduced women's parts on the stage.[a] When Themistocles was appointed by his tribe to contribute to the representations of the festivals, Phrynichus presented one of his pieces, which obtained the prize, and the name of the poet was associated on the marble with that of the conqueror of the Persians.[b] His tragedy, which was entitled The Taking of Miletus, had a strange success. The spectators melted into tears, and condemned the author to a fine of a thousand drachmas,* for having painted in too lively colours calamities which Athenians were unable to prevent.[c]

Ion was so pleased and elated at one of his pieces having obtained the crown, that he made a present to each of the inhabitants of Athens of one of those beautiful earthen vases which are fabricated in the isle of Chios his native country.[d] As a writer he may be censured for having committed no fault: his works are so carefully finished, that the most rigid eye cannot discover a blemish. Yet all that he has written is not worth the Œdipus of Sophocles; because with his

[a] Suid. in Φρύνιχ. [b] Plut. in Them. t. i. p. 114. * Nine hundred livres. (37*l.* 10*s.*) [c] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 21. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 172. [d] Athen. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 3.

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utmost efforts, he only attained to the perfection of mediocrity.[e]

Agatho, the friend of Socrates and Euripides, first hazarded invented subjects.[f] His comedies are written with elegance, and his tragedies with the same profusion of antitheses and symmetrical ornaments as the discourses of the rhetorician Gorgias.[g]

Philocles composed a great number of pieces which are only remarkable for a bitterness of style, that acquired him the surname of *The Bile*.[h] This writer, though of very ordinary abilities, gained the prize from Sophocles, in a competition in which the latter presented his Œdipus, one of his best pieces, and perhaps the masterpiece of the Grecian theatre.[i] The time will no doubt arrive when, from respect to Sophocles, we shall not dare to say that he was superior to Philocles.[k]

Astydamas, the nephew of this Philocles, was still more fertile than his uncle, and gained the prize fifteen times.[l] His son, of the same name, has, in my time, brought several pieces on the stage. He has for competitors, Asclepiades, Aphareus, the adopted son of Isocrates, Theodectes, and several others, who would be admired had they not succeeded writers so truly admirable.

I had forgotten Dionysius the Elder, king of

[e] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 33. p. 187. [f] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 659. [g] Ælian. lib. 14. cap. 13. Philostr. Vit. Soph. lib. 1. p. 493. Athen. lib. 5. p. 187. [h] Suid. in Φιλοκλ. [i] Dicæarch. in Argum. Œdip. [k] Aristid. Orat. t. iii. p. 422. [l] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 270. Suid. in Αστυδ.

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Syracuse. He was aided in the composition of his tragedies by some men of genius, and was indebted to their assistance for the victory he obtained in this species of literature.[m] Fond to intoxication of his productions, he solicited the approbation of every person at his court with the meanness and cruelty of a tyrant. He one day requested Philoxenus to correct a piece which he had just finished. The poet made one general erasure from the beginning to the end, for which he was sent to the quarries.[n] The next day Dionysius liberated him from his confinement, admitted him to his table; and, toward the end of the entertainment, reciting some of his verses, asked him what he thought of them: the poet made him no reply, but, turning to the attendants, bid them take him back to the quarries.[o]

Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are, and ever will be, placed at the head of those who have rendered the stage illustrious.[p] Whence is it, then, that notwithstanding the great number of pieces they presented in the theatrical competitions,* the first obtained the crown only thirteen times,[q] the second but eighteen,[r] and the last only five times?[s] Because the multitude decided the victory; but the public has since assigned to these poets the rank they merited. The multitude

[m] Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 833. [n] Id. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 334. [o] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331. [p] Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 841. Aristid. Orat. t. iii. p. 703. Quintil. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 682. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 7. t. i. p. 286. * See note IX. at the end of the volume. [q] Anonym. in Vit. Æschyl. [r] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 222. [s] Suid. in Εὐριπιδ. Var. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. c. 4.

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had patrons whose passions it espoused, and favourites whose interest it supported. Hence so many intrigues and enmities which broke forth in acts of violence and injustice in the moment of decision. On the other hand, the public, that is to say, the most intelligent part of the people, sometimes suffered itself to be dazzled by slight beauties scattered through works that do not rise above mediocrity; but it was not long before it restored men of real genius to the station they merited, when convinced of their superiority by the vain attempts of their rivals and successors.

Though comedy had the same origin with tragedy, its history, less known, points out to us revolutions of the circumstances of which we are ignorant, and improvements of which we no longer know the authors.

Invented towards the fifteenth Olympiad,* and adapted to the rude manners of the rustics, Comedy ventured not to approach the capital; and if by chance some companies of actors, who were unconnected with any others, found their way into the city, and performed their indecent farces, they were less authorised than tolerated by the government.[t] It was not till after a long infancy that this species of drama began suddenly to make a rapid improvement in Sicily.[u] Instead of a succession of scenes without connection or tendency, the philosopher Epicharmus introduced an action, all the parts of which had a dependence on

* About the year 580 before Christ. [t] Aristot. de Poet. c. 3. t. ii. p. 654. Diomed. de Orat. lib. 3. p. 485. [u] Aristot. ibid. c. 5. Horat lib. 2. epist. 1. v. 58.

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each other: and conducted his subject, without wandering from it, through a just extent, to a determinate end. His pieces, subjected to the same laws as tragedy, were known in Greece, where they were considered as models;[x] and Comedy soon shared with her rival the suffrages of the public, and the homage due to genius. The Athenians, especially, received her with the same transports as they would have testified at the news of a victory. Many of their poets exercised their genius in this novel species of composition; and their names adorn the numerous list of writers who have been distinguished in comedy from Epicharmus to the present time. Such were, among the more ancient, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Eupolis, and Aristophanes, who died about thirty years before my arrival in Greece. They all flourished in the age of Pericles.

Some keenly satirical pleasantries at first procured to Magnes the most brilliant success. He afterwards became more discreet and moderate, and his pieces were condemned.[y]

Cratinus succeeded less in the disposition of the fable, than the pourtraying of vices. With the severity of Archilochus, and the energy of Æschylus, he attacked individuals, without moderation and without pity.[z]

Crates was distinguished by the liveliness of his

[x] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152.
[y] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 522. Schol. de Comœd. ibid. p. xii.
[z] Plut. in Argum. Aristoph. p. xi. et in Equit. v. 534.

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sallies,[a] and Pherecrates by the artifice of his.[b]—Both were happy in invention, and abstained from personalities.[c]

Eupolis returned to the manner of Cratinus, but he possessed more elevation and amenity than that writer. Aristophanes, with less gall than Cratinus and fewer graces than Eupolis, frequently tempered the bitterness of the former with the elegance of the latter.[d]

If we refer to the titles of the pieces which have come down to us from the time of these authors, we shall find it difficult to conceive what idea they entertained of comedy. The following are some of them: Prometheus,[e] Triptolemus,[f] Bacchus,[g] the Bacchantes,[h] the Fictitious Hercules,[i] the Marriage of Hebe,[k] the Danaides,[l] Niobe,[m] Amphiaraus,[n] the Shipwreck of Ulysses,[o] the Golden Age,[p] the Wild Men,[q] Heaven,[r] the Seasons,[s] the Earth and Sea,[t] the Storks,[u] the Birds, the Bees, the Frogs, the Clouds,[x] the She-Goats,[y] the Laws,[z] the Painters,[a] the Pythagoreans,[b]

[a] Schol. Aristoph. Comœd. p. xii. [b] Athen. lib. 6. p. 268. [c] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 5. p. 654. Argum. Aristoph. p. xii. [d] Platonius in Argum. Aristoph. p. xi. [e] Epicharm. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 86. [f] Pherecr. ibid. lib. 2. p. 67. [g] Aristom. ibid. lib. 14. p. 658. [h] Epicharm. ibid. lib. 3. p. 106. [i] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. page 122. [k] Epicharm. ibid. page 85, &c. [l] Aristoph. ibid. lib. 2. p. 57, &c. [m] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 301. [n] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 158. [o] Epicharm. ibid. lib. 14. p. 619. [p] Eupol. ibid. lib. 9. p. 375. [q] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 5. p. 218. [r] Amphis. ibid. lib. 3. p. 100. [s] Cratin. ibid. lib. 9. p. 374. Aristoph. ibid. lib. 14. p. 653. [t] Epicharm. ibid. lib. 3. p. 120. [u] Aristoph. ibid. lib. 9. p. 368. [x] Aristoph. ibid. [y] Eupol. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 94. [z] Cratin. ibid. lib. 11. p. 496. [a] Pherecr. ibid. lib. 9. p. 395. [b] Aristoph. ibid. lib. 4. p. 161.

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the Deserters,[c] the Friends,[d] the Flatterers,[e] the Effeminate.[f]

They treated the same subjects with the tragic writers, though they exhibited them in different colours. The Niobe of Euripides drew tears from the spectators, and that of Aristophanes excited their laughter. The gods and heroes were travestied, and the ridiculous was produced by the contrast between their disguise and their dignity. Different pieces bore the names of Bacchus and Hercules, and, by parodying their characters, exposed to the laughter of the populace the excessive poltroonery of the former, and the enormous voracity of the latter;[g] to assuage whose hunger, Epicharmus particularly describes, and represents as served up to him, all the different species of fish and shell-fish known in his time.[h]

The same turn of pleasantry obtains in the allegorical subjects, such as the *Golden Age*, the advantages of which are extolled.[i] In that happy age, said some, there was no need for slaves or workmen; the rivers rolled a delicious and nourishing liquid, torrents of wine fell from heaven in the form of rain; and man, seated beneath trees loaded with fruits, beheld birds ready dressed and seasoned flying around him, and requesting him to feast on them.[k] That

[c] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 90. [d] Eupol. ibid. lib. 6. p. 266. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 328. [f] Cratin. ibid. lib. 14. p. 638. [g] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 740. Schol. ibid. [h] Ephicarm. in Nupt. Heb. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 85; lib. 7. p. 313, 318, &c. [i] Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 267. Eupol. ibid. lib. 9. p. 375, 408, &c. [k] Pherecr. ibid. lib. 6. p. 268 et 269.

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time, said another of these writers, shall return, when, at my command, the table shall spread itself with delicacies, the bottle pour me out wine, and the fish, half-roasted, turn on the other side and sprinkle himself with some drops of oil.[l]

Images of this kind were addressed to that class of citizens, who unable to obtain the luxuries of life, were pleased with the idea that they had not always been nor should always continue to be denied them. It was also to obtain the favour of the same part of the audience that the most celebrated authors sometimes furnished their actors with indecent dresses, gestures, and expressions, and sometimes put in their mouths virulent invectives against individuals.

We have already seen that some comic writers, treating a subject generally, abstained from personalities; but others were so unjust as to make no distinction between errors and vices, merit and demerit. Spies in society, and slanderous informers on the stage, they delivered over the most illustrious reputations to the malignity of the multitude; and fortunes whether well or ill acquired, to its jealousy. No citizen was so exalted, nor any so contemptible, as to be secure from their attacks, which were sometimes made by allusions easy to be understood, but more frequently by expressly naming the person, and pourtraying his features on the mask of the actor. A piece is extant in which Timocreon represented both Themistocles and Simonides;[m] and we have

[l] Cratin. ibid. p. 267. [m] Suid. in Τιμοκρ.

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also several written against a lamp-maker, named Hyperbolus, who by his intrigues had raised himself to the offices of magistracy.[n]

The authors of these satires had recourse to falsehood to gratify their private enmity, and to the most illiberal abuse to please the lower classes of the audience. They hastened to diffuse their poison among all ranks of citizens, and ransacked the secrets of every family to expose to light concealed vices, and crimes.[o] At other times they gave vent to their spleen against the philosophers, the tragic poets, or their own rivals.

As the former only treated them with contempt, the comic writers endeavoured to render them suspected by the government, and ridiculous in the eyes of the multitude. Thus was it that, in the person of Socrates, virtue was more than once made the victim on the stage;[p] and hence Aristophanes, in one of his pieces, has given us a burlesque parody of the plan of a perfect republic, as conceived by Protagoras and Plato.[q]

At the same time comedy cited before her tribunal all those who devoted their talents to tragedy, sometimes exposing with asperity the defects of their persons or their works, and sometimes parodying

[n] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 552. [o] Id. in Equit. v. 1271. Horat. lib. 2. epist. 1. v. 150. [p] Aristoph. in Nub. Ameips. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 28. Eupol. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 96. Senac. de Vitâ Beatâ, c. 27. [q] Schol. Aristoph. in Argum. Concion. p. 440. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxx. p. 29.

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with keen ridicule, their verses, thoughts, sentiments.[r] Euripides was all his life persecuted by Aristophanes; and the same spectators crowned the pieces of the former, and the burlesque critiques made on them by the latter.

The jealousy between those who ran the same course at length burst forth with still greater violence. Aristophanes had reproached Cratinus with his love of wine, the failure of his wit, and other defects incident to old age;[s] and Cratinus, in revenge, exposed the plagiarisms of his enemy, and accused him of having adorned his works with the spoils of Eupolis.[t]

Amid these contests, so shameful to literature, Cratinus conceived, and Aristophanes executed the project of extending the empire of comedy. The latter having been accused by Cleon of assuming the title of citizen without possessing a legal right to it,[u] in his defence parodied two verses which Homer has put in the mouth of Telemachus, and of which this is the sense: "I am, as my mother tells me, the son of Philip: for my part, I know little of the matter: for what child knows his own father?"[x] This stroke of pleasantry having induced his judges to confirm him in his privileges as a citizen, he breathed nothing

[r] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 8. Schol. ibid. Id. in. Vesp. v. 312. Schol. ibid. Id. in Equit. v. 1246. Schol. ibid., &c. Suid. in Παρωδ. [s] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 399. Suid. in Αφέλ. [t] Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 528. [u] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 378. Schol. ibid. et in Vita Aristoph. p. xiv. [x] Brumoy, Theatr. des Grecs, t. v. p. 267.

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but vengeance. Animated, as he himself says, with the courage of Hercules,[y] he composed against Cleon a piece abounding with the bitterest sarcasms: [z] but as no workman could be found who would undertake to make a mask to represent the features of a man so formidable, nor any actor who would venture to perform the part, the poet was obliged to act it himself, with his face smeared with wine-lees,[a] and had the satisfaction of seeing the multitude approve with loud bursts of applause the ridicule and invectives with which he attacked a leader whom they adored, and the keen satire that he levelled at themselves.

Emboldened by this success, he proceeded, in allegorical subjects, to treat on the most important interests of the republic. Sometimes he showed the necessity of ending a long and ruinous war,[b] and sometimes inveighed against the corruption of the demagogues, the dissensions of the senate, and the folly of the people in their elections and deliberations. Two excellent actors, Callistratus and Philonides, performed in his comedies. When the first appeared, it was understood that the comedy turned only on the vices of individuals; and when the second acted, that the piece attacked the leaders of the administration.[c]

The most intelligent part of the public, however, greatly disapproved of, and sometimes opposed with success, these licentious attacks. By one decree the

[y] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 751. Schol. ibid. [z] Id. in Equit. [a] Vit. Aristoph. p. xiii. Schol. in Argum. Equit. p. 172. [b] Aristoph. in Acharn. et in Pace. [c] Schol. in. Vit. Aristoph. p. xiv.

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acting of comedy was prohibited;[d] by a second it was forbidden to mention any person by name;[e] and, by a third, to attack the magistrates.[f] But these decrees were soon either forgotten or repealed; they seemed repugnant to the nature of the government; and, besides, the multitude could not consent to relinquish a species of entertainment in which all the abusive and obscene expressions their language afforded, were lavished on the objects of their jealousy.

Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, a small number of citizens having seized on the supreme power, their first care was to restrain the licentiousness of the poets, and to permit the person they had attacked to prosecute them in a court of justice.[g] The terror which these powerful men inspired, produced a sudden revolution in comedy. The chorus was laid aside, because the rich citizens were alarmed, and would no longer consent to furnish one at their expense, or to provide masks with portraits, and thus contribute to the support of satire against individuals, and invectives against the leaders of the state. Aristophanes himself submitted to this reformation in his latter pieces;[h] and his successors, such as Eubulus, Antiphanes, and several others, paid respect to the rules of propriety and decency. The fate of Anaxandrides taught them not to depart

[d] Schol. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 67. [e] Id. ibid. v. 1149, et in Av. v. 1297. [f] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 31. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 79. [g] Plat. in Argum. Aristoph. p. x. [h] Aristoph. in Plut. in Cocal. et in Ælos. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 710 et 713.

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from them. He had parodied these words of Euripides: "Nature issues her commands, and regards little the laws by which they are contradicted." For the word *nature* he substituted *the city*, and was sentenced to perish with hunger.[i]

In this state was comedy during my stay in Greece. Some poets continued to treat and parody the subjects of fable and history; but the greater part preferred invented subjects; and the same spirit of observation and analysis which inclined the philosophers to collect in society the scattered traits, the union of which characterises greatness of soul or pusillanimity, engaged the poets to paint, generally, the singularities which are offensive, or the actions which are dishonourable, in society.

Comedy had become a regular art, since the philosophers had been able to define it. They said that it is an imitation, not of every kind of vice, but of the ridiculous only;[k] and they also said that, after the example of tragedy, it may be permitted to exaggerate its characters to render them more striking.[l]

When the chorus was again employed,[m] which rarely happened, interludes were, as formerly, admitted between the scenes, and the declamation was accompanied by the choral chant or song; but when it was omitted, the action had greater probability, and a more rapid progress; the comic writers spoke

[i] Barnes ad Phœniss. v. 396. Id. in Vit. Euripid. p. xxi.
[k] Aristot. de Poet. c. 5. t. ii. p. 655. [l] Id. ibid. c. 2. p. 653.
[m] Id. ibid. c. 1. p. 653. Theophr. Charact. c. 6.

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a language which could not offend the delicate ear; and extravagant subjects no longer brought on the stage choruses of birds, wasps, and other animals, habited in a grotesque resemblance to the forms of those creatures. New discoveries were every day made in human nature, and nothing was wanting but a genius who might profit by the errors of the ancients, and the observations of the moderns.*

After having traced the progress of tragedy and comedy, it remains for me to speak of a species of drama which unites the pleasantry of the latter to the gravity of the former.[n] This, in like manner, derives its origin from the festivals of Bacchus, in which choruses of Sileni and Satyrs intermingled jests and raillery with the hymns which they sang in honour of that god.

The success they met with gave the first idea of the satyric drama, a kind of poem in which the most serious subjects are treated in a manner at once affecting and comic.[o]

It is distinguished from tragedy by the kind of personages which it admits; by the catastrophe, which is never calamitous; and by the strokes of pleasantry, bon-mots, and buffooneries, which constitute its principal merit. It differs from comedy by the nature of the subject, by the air of dignity which reigns in some of the scenes,[p] and the attention with which it avoids all personalities. It is

* Menander was born in one of the latter years of the stay of Anacharsis in Greece.

[n] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 222.

[o] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. c. 170.

[p] Euripid. in Cyclop.

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distinct from both the tragic and comic dramas by certain rhythms which are peculiar to it,[q] by the simplicity of its fable, and by the limits prescribed to the duration of the action;[r] for the satyr is a kind of entertainment which is performed after the tragedies, as a relaxation to the spectators.[s]

The scene presents to view groves, mountains, grottos, and landscapes of every kind.[t] The personages of the chorus, disguised under the grotesque forms attributed to the satyrs, sometimes execute lively dances with frequent leaps,[u] and sometimes discourse in dialogue, or sing, with the gods or heroes;[x] and from the diversity of thoughts, sentiments, and expressions, results a striking and singular contrast.

Æschylus has succeeded better than any other author in this species of composition. Sophocles and Euripides have also distinguished themselves in it, but not so eminently as the poets Achæus[y] and Hegemon. The latter added a new charm to the satyric drama by parodying, scene by scene, several well-known tragedies.[z] The artifice and neatness with which he executed these parodies rendered his pieces greatly applauded, and frequently procured them the crown.[a] During the representation of his Giganto-

[q] Mar. Victorin. Art. Gram. lib. 2. p. 2527. Casaub. de Satyr. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 96. [r] Euripid. ibid. [s] Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 220. Diomed. de Orat. lib. 3. p. 488. Mar. Victorin. ibid. [t] Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 5. c. 8. [u] Athen. lib. 14. p. 630. [x] Casaub. ibid. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 102. [y] Mened. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 133. [z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 404. Hesych. in Παρωδ. [a] Athen. lib. 15. p. 699.

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machia, and while the whole audience were in a violent fit of laughter, news arrived of the defeat of the army in Sicily. Hegemon proposed to break off the piece abruptly; but the Athenians, without removing from their places, covered themselves with their clokes, and, after having paid the tribute of a few tears to their relatives who had fallen in battle, listened, with the same attention as before, to the remainder of the entertainment. They afterwards alleged that they were unwilling to show any signs of weakness, or testify their grief, in the presence of the strangers who were spectators of the performance.[b]

[b] Athen. lib. 9. p. 407. Casaub. in Athen. p. 438.

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CHAPTER LXX.

Representation of Theatrical Pieces at Athens.

THE theatre was at first built with wood;[c] but having fallen down during the performance of a piece by an ancient author named Pratinas,[d] that which is still standing, near the south-east corner of the citadel, was erected of stone. If I should undertake to describe it, I should neither satisfy those who have seen it, nor those who have not; I shall therefore only give a plan of it,* and add some remarks to what I have already said, concerning the representation of dramatic pieces, in one of my preceding chapters.†

1st. During this representation no person is permitted to remain in the *cælon,* or pit,[e] experience having shown that, unless this be entirely empty, the voice of the actors will be less distinctly heard.[f]

2d. The *proscenium,* or stage, is divided into two parts; the one higher, on which the actors declaim, and the other lower, in which the chorus commonly is placed.[g] This latter is raised ten or twelve feet

[c] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 402. Schol. ibid. Hesych. et Suid. in Ἰκρία, in Αἰγείρ, &c. [d] Suid. in Πρατιν. * See the plan of a Greek theatre. † See Chap. XI. of this work. [e] Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 6 et 8. [f] Aristot. Probl. sect. 11. § 25. t. ii. p. 739. Plin. lib. 11. c. 51. t. i. p. 643. [g] Poll. lib. 4. c. 19. § 123.

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above the pit,[h] from which there is an ascent to it.[i] In this situation it is easy for the chorus to turn either towards the actors or towards the spectators.[k]

3d. As the theatre is not covered, it sometimes happens that a sudden shower obliges the spectators to take refuge in the porticos; or the public building near the place.[l]

4th. In the spacious inclosure of the theatre are exhibited the contests in poetry, music, and dancing, with which the grand solemnities are accompanied. It is consecrated to glory; yet have we seen, on the same day, a piece of Euripides followed by an exhibition of puppets.[m]

Tragedies and comedies are only presented to the public during the three festivals solemnised in honour of Bacchus.[n] The first of these is celebrated at the Piræus, and there it was that some of the pieces of Euripides were performed for the first time.[o]

The second, named *the Choes* or *the Lenæans*, falls on the 12th of the month Anthesterion,* and lasts only one day.[p] As the inhabitants of Attica alone are permitted to be present at the celebration of this festival,[q] authors reserve their new pieces for

[h] Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 91. [i] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 194. Plut. in Demetr. tom. i. p. 905. Poll. ibid. § 127. [k] Schol. Aristoph. in Argum. Nub. p. 50. [l] Vitruv. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 92. [m] Athen. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 19. Casaub. ibid. [n] Demosth. in Mid. p. 604. [o] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 13. * This month sometimes began on one of the last days of January, but usually on one of the first of February. (Dodwel. de Cycl.) [p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 174. [q] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 503.

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the greater Dionysia, which are solemnised a month after, and which attract from all parts an infinite number of spectators. They commence on the 12th of the month Elaphebolion,* and continue several days, during which the pieces intended for competition are represented.[r]

The victory formerly required greater efforts than it does at present. An author opposed his antagonist with three tragedies, and one of those entertainments which are named satyrs. With this great force were those famous contests decided in which Pratinas gained the prize against Æschylus and against Chœrilus;[s] Sophocles against Æschylus;[t] Philocles against Sophocles;[u] Euphorion against Sophocles, and against Euripides;[x] the latter against Iophon, and against Ion;[y] and Xenocles against Euripides.[z]

It is asserted by some, that according to the number of competitors, the authors of tragedies, subjected at that time to the same restriction as orators are at present, were obliged to regulate the duration of their pieces by the successive fall of drops of water which escaped from an instrument called the Clepsydra.[a] However this may be, Sophocles, wearied with producing so many pieces, adventured to pro-

* The beginning of this month rarely happened on one of the latter days of February, but commonly on one of the first of March. (Dodwel. de Cycl.) [r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 178. [s] Suid. in Πρατίν. [t] Plut. in Cim. tom. i. p. 483. [u] Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Argum. Œdip. Tyr. Aristid. Orat. t. iii. p. 422. [x] Argum. Med. Euripid. p. 74. [y] Argum. Hippol. Euripid. page 216. [z] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 8. [a] Aristot. de Poet. c. 7. t. ii. p. 658.

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duce only one;[b] and this practice, which had always been usual with regard to comedy, was insensibly established with respect to tragedy.

In the festivals, which last only one day, five or six dramatic pieces, either tragedies or comedies, are performed. But in the greater Dionysia, which continue longer, twelve or fifteen, and sometimes more,[c] are acted. The performance begins early in the morning,[d] and sometimes lasts the whole day.

The pieces are first presented to the principal archon, to whom it appertains to receive or reject them. Authors of mean abilities humbly solicit his protection. They are transported with joy when he is favourable to them;[e] and, when he refuses to receive their pieces, console themselves by writing epigrams against him; or still better by the example of Sophocles, who was excluded from a competition to which the presiding archon did not blush to admit one of the most indifferent poets of his time.[f]

The crown is not bestowed at the pleasure of a tumultuous assembly. The magistrate who presides at the festivals causes a small number of judges* to be drawn by lot, who engage by an oath to decide impartially.[g] This is the moment in which the par-

[b] Suid. in Σοφοκλ. [c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. tom. xxxix. p. 182. [d] Xen. Mem. lib. 5. p. 825. Æschin. in Ctesph. page 440. [e] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 94. Schol. ibid. [f] Hesych. in Πυρπερ. Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 14. c. 9. p. 638. Cassaub. in Athen. p. 573. * I have not been able to fix the number of these judges. I have sometimes reckoned five, sometimes seven, and at other times more. [g] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483. Epicharm. ap. Zenod. Erasm. Adag. p. 539. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 445. Lucian. in Harmonid. c. 2. t. i. p. 853.

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tisans and enemies of an author are most active. Sometimes indeed the multitude, excited by their intrigues, previously declare their choice, furiously oppose the creation of the new tribunal, or compel the judges to acquiesce in their decision.[h]

Besides the name of the victor, the names of the two competitors who are judged to have approached nearest to him are proclaimed;[i] while he himself, loaded with the applauses which he has received at the theatre, and which the chorus had solicited for him at the end of the piece,[k] is frequently accompanied home by a part of the spectators,[l] and usually he gives an entertainment to his friends.[m]

After the victory, the same piece can no more be admitted to the competition; nor may it after a defeat, without undergoing considerable alterations.[n] But, notwithstanding this regulation, an ancient decree of the people permits any poet to aspire to the crown with one of the pieces of Æschylus, retouched and corrected as he shall judge proper; and this method has often succeeded.[o]—Aristophanes thus obtained the honour of presenting to the competition a piece already crowned.[p]—Afterwards the same privilege was extended to the pieces of Sophocles and

[h] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 13. [i] Schol. in Vit. Sophocl. Argum. Comœd. Aristoph. [k] Euripid. Orest. Phœniss. Iphig. in Taur. [l] Plat. an Seni. t. ii. p. 785. [m] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 173, 174. [n] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 546. Schol. in Argum. [o] Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 632. Philostr. Vit. Apollon. lib. 6. c. 11. p. 245. Schol. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 10. [p] Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Arg. Ran. p. 115.

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Euripides;[q] but as their superiority became every day more sensible, and prevented many from offering pieces at the competitions, the orator Lycurgus, at the time of my departure from Athens, intended to propose to the people to forbid their representation for the future, but to preserve accurate copies of them in some place of safety, to cause them annually to be recited in public, and to erect statues to their authors.[r]

The actors in these dramas are to be distinguished into two kinds; those whose parts immediately follow the thread of the action, and those who compose the chorus. That I may explain more clearly their respective functions, I shall proceed to give an idea of the division of the pieces.

Besides the parts that constitute the essence of a drama, which are, the fable, the manners, the diction, the sentiments, the music, and the decoration,[s] we must also consider those into which it is distributed in its extent, and which are, the prologue, the episode, the exode, and the chorus.[t]

The prologue begins with the piece, and concludes with the first interlude or choralode between the acts. The episode extends in general from the first to the last of the interludes, and the exode comprehends all that is said after the last interlude.[u] In the first of these parts it is that the exposition of the subject has place, and the knot or complication of the intrigue

[q] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 331. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5.
[r] Plut. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 841.
[s] Aristot. de Poet. c. 6. p. 656.
[t] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 669. Schol. Vit. Aristoph. p. xiv.
[u] Aristot. ibid.

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sometimes commences; the action is developed in the second, and finally unravelled in the third. These three parts have no fixed proportion in their respective lengths. In the Œdipus at Colonus of Sophocles, which contains 1862 verses, the prologue alone contains 720.[x]

The stage is never empty. The chorus sometimes makes its entry in the first scene; if it comes on later, it must be naturally introduced; and if it goes off, it is only for a few moments, and for a sufficient reason.

The action presents only a series of scenes divided by interludes, the number of which is left to the choice of the poet. Of these many pieces have four,[y] and others five,[z] or six.[a] I find only three in the Hecuba of Euripides,[b] and in the Electra of Sophocles;[c] but two in the Orestes of the former poet;[d] and one only in the Philoctetes of the latter.[e] The intervals between two interludes are also of various lengths; some have only one scene, and others contain several. It is manifest from these observations, that the division of a piece, and the distribution of its parts, depend entirely on the will of the poet.

What properly characterises the interlude is when the choral performers are considered as alone, and sing altogether.[f] If by any accident, at these times,

[x] Plut. an Seni, t. ii. p. 785. [y] Euripid. in Hippol. [z] Id. in Phœniss. v. 210. 641. 791. 1026. et 1299. Id. in Med. v. 410. 627. 824. 976. et 1251. Id. in Alcest. [a] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 100. 338. 588. 792. 956. et 1127. [b] Euripid. in Hecub. v. 444. 629. et 905. [c] Soph. in Electr. v. 474. 1064. et 1400. [d] Euripid. in Orest. v. 316 et 805. [e] Soph. in Philoct. v. 686. [f] Aristot. de Poet. c. 12. p. 664.

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one of the characters of the preceding scene, should remain on the stage with them, they do not address him, or at least require from him no answer.

The chorus, according as the subject demands, is composed of men and women, old men or youths, citizens or slaves, priests, soldiers, &c. to the number of fifteen in tragedy, and twenty-four in comedy;[g] and the persons of it are always supposed of inferior condition to the principal characters of the piece. As it usually represents the people, or at least a part of them, foreigners, even though settled at Athens, are forbidden to act in the choruses,[h] for the same reason as they are prohibited from being present in the general assembly of the people.

The actors who compose the chorus come on the stage preceded by a flute-player, who regulates their steps,[i] sometimes one after the other, but more frequently, in tragedy, three in front and five in depth, or five in front and three in depth. When the piece is a comedy, they are usually arranged four in front, and six deep, or six in front and four deep.[k]

In the course of the piece the chorus sometimes performs the part of an actor, and sometimes forms the interlude. In the first case it takes a part in the action, and sings or declaims with the persons of the drama, the coryphæus speaking for it.* On certain

[g] Poll. lib. 4. c. 15. § 108. Schol. in Acharn. Aristoph. v. 210; in Av. v. 298. [h] Demosth. in Mid. p. 612. Ulpian. ibid. p. 653. Plut. in Phocian. t. i. p. 755. [i] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. v. 580. [k] Poll. lib. 4. c. 15. § 109. * See note X. at the end of the volume.

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occasions it is divided into two parts, headed by two leaders, who relate certain circumstances of the action, or mutually communicate their hopes and fears.[l] These kind of scenes, which are almost always sung, are sometimes concluded by the re-union of the two parts of the chorus.[m] In the second case the chorus confines itself to lamenting the calamities incident to humanity, or imploring the assistance of the gods for the dramatic personage whose cause it espouses.

During these scenes the chorus rarely quits its place. In the interludes, and especially in the first, it executes different evolutions to the sound of the flute. The verses which it sings are, like those of the ode, disposed in strophes, antistrophes, epodes, &c. Each antistrophe corresponds to a strophe, either in the measure and number of the verses, or the nature of the chant. The choral performers, at the first strophe, go from right to left; at the first antistrophe from left to right, in an equal time, and repeating the same air to other words.[n] They afterwards stop, and turning towards the spectators, sing a new melody. Frequently they repeat the same evolutions with sensible differences in the words and music, but always with the same correspondence between the march and the counter-march. I here only mention the general practice; for it is principally in this part

[l] Æschyl. in Sept. cont. Theb. v. 875. Rhes. ap. Euripid. v. 538 et 692. Schol. Aristoph. in Equit. v. 586. Poll. lib. 4. c. 15. § 106. [m] Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 877. [n] Argum. Schol. in Pind. Etymol. Magn. in Προσώδ.

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of the drama that the poet aims to display the varieties of rhythmus and melody.

Each tragedy requires three actors for the three leading parts. The principal archon causes them to be drawn by lot, and assigns to them, in consequence, the piece in which they are to perform. The author is not allowed the privilege to choose them, except when he has merited the crown in one of the preceding festivals.[o]

The same actors sometimes perform both in tragedy and comedy,[p] but we rarely meet with any who excel in both.[q] It is not necessary to mention that some have always acquitted themselves with great applause in the first parts, while others have not been able to rise above those of the third order; and that there are parts which require extraordinary bodily powers, as that of Ajax frantic.[s] Some actors, to acquire greater vigour and suppleness of body, frequent the palæstræ, where they exercise with youthful athletæ:[t] others to render their voices more ductile and sonorous, carefully observe a strict regimen.[u].

Considerable pay is given to actors who have acquired great celebrity; I have known Polus gain a talent in two days.[x] * Their salary is regulated according to the number of pieces in which they act.

[o] Hesych. et Suid. in Νεμησ. Vales. in Maussac. p. 117. [p] Ulpian. in Demosth. p. 653. [q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 395. [r] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 331. [s] Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 875. [t] Cicer. Orat. c. 4. t. i. p. 423. [u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 655. [x] Plut. in Rhet. X. Vit. t. ii. p. 848.

* 5400 livres. (225*l.*)

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As soon as they have attained to distinction on the Athenian stage, they are applied to by the different cities of Greece, and solicited to contribute to the embellishment of their festivals. If they fail to perform the engagements they have signed, they are obliged to pay a sum of money stipulated in the agreement.[y] On the other hand, the republic condemns them to a heavy fine if they are absent at the time of the celebration of its festivals.[z]

The principal actor should be conspicuously distinguished from the two others, and especially from the third, who receives his pay from him;[a] so that these, even though they should have the finest voices, ought so to manage them as not to eclipse his.[b] Theodorus, who in my time always played the principal part, never permitted the two subaltern actors to speak before him, and prepossess the audience in their favour.[c] It was only when he assigned to the third actor a principal part, as that of the king,[d] that he consented to forget his pre-eminence.[e]

Tragedy seldom employs in the scenes any other verse than the iambic—a species of measure which nature seems to point out, by frequently producing it in conversation;[f] but, in the choruses, it admits the greater part of those metrical forms which enrich lyric poetry. The attention of the spectator, inces-

[y] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 398. [z] Plat. in Alex. t. i. p. 681. [a] Plut. Præc. Reip. Ger. t. ii. p. 816. [b] Cicer. de Divin. c. 15. t. iv. p. 125. [c] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. c. 17. t. ii. p. 449. [d] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 331. [e] Plut. Præc. Reip. Ger. t. ii. p. 816. [f] Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. t. ii. p. 655. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 81.

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santly awakened by this variety of rhythms, is not less engaged by the diversity of sounds annexed to the words, of which some are sung, and others simply recited.[g]

The chorus sings in the interludes,[h] and the actors declaim in the scenes[i] when the chorus is silent; but when it enters into dialogue with the actors, its coryphæus recites with them, or they sing alternately with the chorus.[k]

The voice of the performers in singing is guided by the flute, and in declamation by a lyre which prevents it from sinking,[l] and successively gives it the fourth, the fifth, and the octave,* which in fact are the consonances the voice most frequently produces in conversation, whether continued or familiar.† Though subjected to a proper intonation, it is freed from the rigid laws of the measure;[m] an actor, therefore, may accelerate or retard his declamation.

With respect to the singing, all the rules of it were formerly rigorously observed; but at present, those which relate to the accents and quantity are transgressed with impunity.[n] To enforce the ob-

[g] Aristot. de Poet. c. 6. p. 656. [h] Id. Probl. t. ii. p. 766 et 770. [i] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1141. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 253. [k] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 1162 et 1185. Lucian. de Salt. § 27. t. ii. p. 285. Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. c. 11. t. v. p. 63. [l] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1141. * I imagine this to have been what is called the lyre of Mercury. See Mémoire sur la Musique des Anciens, par M. l'Abbé Roussier, p. 11. † See note XI. at the end of the volume. [m] Aristot. de Poet. c. 6. t. ii. p. 656. Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1137. [n] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. § 11. t. ii. p. 63.

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servance of the others, the master of the chorus,[o] in the absence of the poet, exercises the actors for a long time before the representation of the piece. He beats the measure with his feet, his hands, or by other means[p] which may give the movement to the performers in the chorus, who are attentive to all his gestures.[q]

The chorus more easily obeys the measure than the single voices; but it is never made to sing in certain modes, the enthusiastic character of which is not suitable to the simple and tranquil manners of the persons it represents;[r] these modes are reserved for the principal personages.

The genera, which proceed by quarters of tones, or a number of successive half-tones, are excluded from the music of the theatre, because they are not sufficiently masculine, or sufficiently easy of performance.[s] The singing is preceded by a prelude executed by two flute-players.[t]

The duty of the master of the chorus is not confined to guiding the voices of those who are under his directions; he is also to give them lessons in the two kinds of dances which are adapted to the theatre; one of which, the dance properly so called, the choral performers only execute on certain occasions, as

[o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 812. Demosth. in Mid. p. 612. [p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 160. [q] Aristot. Probl. § 22. t. ii. p. 765. [r] Id. ibid. p. 770. [s] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1137. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 271. [t] Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. 15. c. 5. Hesych. in Ἐνδοσιμ. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 580; in Ran. v. 1282; in Nub. v. 311. Lucian. in Harmonid. t. i. p. 851.

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when, for example, some happy tidings compel them to yield to the transports of their joy ;[u] the other, which has very lately been introduced into tragedy,[x] is that which, by regulating the motions and different inflexions of the body,[y] paints with greater precision than the former the actions, manners, and sentiments.[z] This, of all imitations, is perhaps the most energetic, because its rapid eloquence is not enfeebled by language, but expresses every thing by exhibiting it to the eyes, and is no less proper to satisfy the mind than to excite emotion in the heart. The Greeks, therefore, attentive to multiply the means of influencing the passions, have omitted nothing which might bring to perfection this first language of nature. Among them, poetry and music are always supported by the action of the performers. This action, so lively and so persuasive, animates the discourses of their orators,[a] and sometimes the lessons of their philosophers.[b] The names of poets and orators who have enriched it with new figures are still recorded;[c] and their researches have produced an art which has only been corrupted in consequence of its success.

This kind of dance not being, like the harmony,[d] only a succession of cadenced movements and expressive rests, it is manifest that it ought to be diver-

[u] Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 702; in Trachin. v. 220. Schol. ibid. Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 1247, &c. &c. [x] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 583. [y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 816. [z] Aristot. de Poet. c. 1. t. ii. p. 652. [a] Plut. in Demosth. t. 1. p. 851. Id. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 845. [b] Athen. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 21. [c] Id. ibid. p. 21, 22. [d] Plut. in Sympos. lib. 9. quæst. 15. t. ii. p. 747.

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sified according to the different species of drama.[e] In tragedy it should depict souls which sustain their passions, their happiness, or their misfortunes, with that decency and firmness which are suitable to the elevation of their character.[f] In the attitudes of the actors we ought to recognise the models that the sculptors have imitated, to give to their figures the most elegant positions.[g] The evolutions of the chorus should be executed with all the order and discipline of a military march;[h] and all the exterior signs should contribute with such precision to the unity of the interest, that a concert no less agreeable to the eyes than to the ears should be the result.

The ancients were very sensible of the necessity of this harmony, since they gave to the tragic dance the name of *Emmelia*,[i] which signifies a happy mixture of noble and elegant concords, an exquisite modulation in the action of the personages;[k] and this, in fact, have I more than once remarked, and especially in that piece of Æschylus, in which king Priam offers a ransom for the body of his son.[l] The chorus of Trojans, prostrate with him at the feet of the conqueror of Hector, and like him uttering, amid their dignified emotions, expressions of grief, fear, and hope, communicate to the soul of Achilles, and that of the spectators, the sentiments with which they are penetrated.

[e] Athen. ibid. p. 20; lib. 14. c. 7. p. 630. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 540. [f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 816. [g] Athen. c. 6. p. 629. [h] Id. ibid. p. 628. [i] Plat. ibid. Lucian. de Salt. § 26. t. ii. p. 283. Heysch. in Ἐμμελ. [k] Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 924. [l] Athen. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 21.

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The dance of comedy is free, familiar, often ignoble, and too frequently disgraced by a licentiousness so gross as to disgust persons who respect decency.[m] Even Aristophanes himself has made a merit of having banished it from some of his pieces.[n]

In the drama which is called satyric, the dance or action is lively, tumultuous; but without expression, or relation to the words.[o]

As soon as the Greeks had perceived the merits of the imitative dance, they conceived such a fondness for it, that authors, encouraged by the approbation of the multitude, quickly corrupted it. The abuse at present has arrived at its height: on the one hand attempts are made to imitate, or, more properly speaking, counterfeit every thing;[p] and, on the other, applause is only bestowed on effeminate and lascivious gestures, or confused and extravagant movements. The actor Callipides, who was surnamed *the ape*, has almost in our time introduced, or rather authorised, this bad taste, by the dangerous superiority of his talents.* His successors, to equal him, have copied his faults, and, to surpass him, exaggerated them. They exert and strain themselves like those ignorant musicians who, by forced and ridiculous contortions, endeavour, while playing the flute, to represent the winding course which a discus traces as it rolls along the ground.[q]

The multitude, who suffer themselves to be carried

[m] Theophr. Charact. c. 6. Duport. ibid. p. 305. [n] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 540. [o] Athen. lib. 14. c. 7. p. 630. [p] Aristot. de Poet. c. 26. t. ii. p. 675. * See note XII. at the end of the volume. [q] Aristot. de Poet. c. 26. t. ii. p. 675.

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away by these frigid extravagances, will not pardon errors sometimes more excusable. They are frequently known to express by degrees their disapprobation of an actor, first by low murmurs, then by loud laughter, tumultuous exclamations,[r] and violent hissings.[s] They stamp with their feet to oblige him to quit the stage;[t] make him take off his mask, that they may triumph in his shame;[u] order the herald to call another actor, who is fined if he be not present;[x] and sometimes even demand that a disgraceful punishment shall be inflicted on him.[y] Neither age, celebrity, nor long services, can exempt him from this rigorous treatment;[z] new success alone can restore him to favour; and in this case the audience clap their hands,[a] and applaud with the same pleasure and the same fury.

This alternative of glory and disgrace is common to the actor, with the orator who speaks in the assembly of the people, and the professor who instructs his disciples.[b] In like manner, also, mediocrity of talents can only degrade his profession. He enjoys all the privileges of a citizen; and, as he must be free from all the stigmas of infamy with which the laws punish offences, he may arrive at the most honourable employments. In our time, a famous actor, named Aristodemus, was sent on an embassy to Philip king of Macedon.[c] Others have possessed great in-

[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. [s] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 346. [t] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 122. [u] Duport. in Theophr. Charact. c. 6. p. 308. [x] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 11. § 88. [y] Lucian. in Apoll. § 5. t. i. p. 713. [z] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 516. [a] Theoph. Char. c. 11. [b] Duport. in Theophr. Charact. p. 376. [c] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 397.

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fluence in the public assembly.[d] I shall add that Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, did not blush to act a part in their own pieces.[e]

I have seen excellent actors: I have seen Theodorus in the beginning of his theatrical career, and Polus at the end of his. The expression of the former was so truly natural, that he might have been taken for the very person he represented;[f] the latter had attained to the perfection of his art: never were greater powers joined to so much intelligence and sentiment. In one of the tragedies of Sophocles he acted the part of Electra; I was present. Nothing can be conceived of greater theatrical effect than the situation of that princess when she embraces the urn which she imagines to contain the remains of her brother Orestes. In this instance these were not ashes to which the actor was cold and indifferent, they were the very ashes of a son of whom Polus had lately been deprived. He had caused the urn to be brought from the tomb in which it was enclosed; and when it was presented to him, when he seized it with a trembling hand, when taking it in his arms he pressed it to his heart, he uttered accents of such lively grief, so moving, and so fearfully expressive, that the whole theatre resounded with acclamations; and the spectators shed torrents of tears in commiseration of the unhappy fate of the son, and the wretched condition of the father.[g]

[d] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 295 et 341. [e] Athen. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 20; cap. 18. p. 21. Vit. Aristoph. p. xiii. [f] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 40. [g] Aul. Gell. lib. 7. c. 5.

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The actors have habits and symbols suited to their parts. The kings gird their brow with a diadem; they lean on a sceptre which bears an eagle on its top,* and are habited in long robes of purple, or other colours, ornamented with gold.[h] The heroes frequently appear covered with the skin of a lion[i] or a tiger, and armed with swords, spears, quivers, and clubs. All who suffer under misfortunes, wear a black, brown, or dirty white garment, which frequently hangs in tatters. The age, sex, condition, and present situation of every personage of the drama, is almost always indicated by the colour of his dress.[k]

But this is still better effected by a kind of helmet, by which the head is entirely covered, and which, substituting an artificial visage for that of the actor, produces successive illusions throughout the duration of the piece. I speak of the mask, of which there are various kinds, for tragedy, comedy, and satire. Some are provided with hair of different colours; others with beards of various lengths and thickness; and others represent, as exactly as possible, the charms of youth and beauty.[l] There are some which open an enormous mouth, lined with plates of brass, or some other sonorous substance, that may give the voice sufficient strength to reach to the most distant part of the theatre.[m] Others also have a kind of toupée or fore-

* The sceptre was originally a large staff or truncheon.

[h] Aristoph. in Av. v. 512. Schol. ibid. et in Nub. v. 70. Poll. lib. 4. c. 18. § 115. Suid. in Ἔνστις. [i] Lucian. de Saltat. § 27. t. ii. p. 285. [k] Poll. ibid. § 117. [l] Poll. lib. 4. c. 19. § 133, &c. [m] Aul. Gell. lib. 5. c. 7. Cassiod. Variar. lib. 4. epist. 51. Plin. lib. 47. c. 10. p. 789. Solin. cap. 37. p. 67. Dubos, Refl. Crit. t. iii. p. 199.

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top, terminating in a point,[n] and representing the ancient head-dress of the Athenians; for we know that at the time the first essays were made in the dramatic art, it was the custom to collect and fasten the hair in a bunch or tuft on the top of the head.[o]

Tragedy employed the mask almost from its earliest invention, but by whom it was introduced into comedy is not known.[p] It has supplied the place of the gross colours with which the followers of Thespis besmeared their faces, and the thick leaves of the vine-branch with which they shaded their brow, that they might give way with more indiscretion to the excesses of satire and licentiousness. Thespis increased their audacity by veiling them with a piece of linen;[q] and from this essay, Æschylus, who of himself, or by his imitators, discovered all the secrets of the dramatic art, imagined that a disguise, consecrated by custom, might be a new means of impressing the senses and the heart. The mask was completed under his hands, and became a portrait rendered more lively by colours, and copied from the sublime model which the author had conceived of the gods and heroes.[r] Chœrilus and his successors improved on the idea, and brought it to such perfection,[s] that the result has been a succession of portraits, in which are expressed, as far as art will permit, the principal

[n] Poll. ibid. Lucian. de Saltat. § 27. t. ii. p. 284. [o] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 6. Schol. ibid. Ælian Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 22. Periz. ibid. [p] Aristot. de Poet. c. 5. t. ii. p. 656. [q] Suid. in Θέσπ. Poll. lib. 10. c. 39. § 167. [r] Hor. de Art. Poet. v. 278. [s] Athen. lib. 14. c. 22. p. 659. Suid. in Χοιρίλ. Etymol. Magn. in Ἑρμῶν.

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differences of conditions, and the characters and sentiments which good or evil fortune inspire.[t] How often, in fact, have I not discerned, at a single glance, the profound grief of Niobe, the atrocious projects of Medea, the terrible rage of Hercules, the deplorable despondency of the wretched Ajax,[u] and the menacing fury of the pale and haggard Eumenides![x]

There was a time when comedy presented to the spectators the faithful portrait of those whom it openly attacked.[y] More decent at present, it confines itself to general resemblances, and such as are relative to the absurdities and vices which are the object of its satire; but these are sufficient for us immediately to recognise the master, the servant, the parasite, the indulgent or severe old man, the youth of regular manners or dissipated life, the maiden adorned in all her charms, and the matron distinguished by the gravity of her carriage and her silver hairs.[z]

We do not indeed see the various shades of passion succeed each other in the countenance of the actor; but the greater part of the spectators are so distant from the stage, that it would be impossible for them in any manner to be reached by this eloquent language.[a] Let us proceed to objections that are better founded. The mask causes the voice to lose a part of those inflexions which give it so many charms in conversation; its transitions are sometimes abrupt, its

[t] Poll. lib. 4. c. 19. § 133, &c. Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 80. [u] Quintil. lib. 11. c. 3. p. 702. [x] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 423. [y] Id. in Equit. v. 230. Schol. ibid. [z] Poll. lib. 4. c. 19. § 135, &c. [a] Dubos. Refl. Crit. t. iii. p. 209.

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intonations harsh and rugged;[b] the laugh is altered; and if it is not managed with art, its grace and effect are entirely lost.[c] In fine, how is it possible to endure the sight of an hideous mouth, always motionless,[d] and continually gaping when the actor is silent? *

The Greeks are sensible of these inconveniences: but they would be still more offended if the actors performed without such a disguise; since, in fact, they could not express the relations which exist, or ought to exist, between the physiognomy and the character, between the condition and the external appearance. Among a nation which does not permit women to appear on the stage,[e] and which considers propriety as a rule as indispensable and essential in the practice of the arts as in that of morals, what disgust must not be excited at seeing Antigone and Phædra appear with features the harshness of which would destroy the illusion, Agamemnon and Priam with an ignoble air, and Hippolytus and Achilles with wrinkles and grey heirs! The mask, which it is allowed to change with every scene, and on which may be pourtrayed the symptoms of the principal affections of the soul, can alone maintain and justify the error of the senses, and add a new degree of probability to imitation.

It is on the same principle that in tragedy the stature of the actors is frequently increased to four cu-

[b] Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. § 27. Suid. in Φλοι. [c] Quintil. lib. 11. c. 3. p. 716. [d] Lucian. de Gymnas. § 23. t. ii. p. 904. Id. de Saltat. t. ii. p. 284. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 5. c. 9. * See note XIII. at the end of the volume. [e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 395. Plut. in Phocion. t. i. p. 750. Lucian. de Salt. § 28. t. ii. p. 285. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. c. 5.

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bits,[f]* the height of Hercules[g] and the most ancient heroes. This is effected by buskins, which raise them four or five inches:[h] while gauntlets lengthen their arms; and their breasts, sides, and every part of their body, are rendered apparently thicker in proportion.[i] And when, conformably to the laws of tragedy, which requires a strong and sometimes vehement declamation,[k] this almost colossal figure, habited in a magnificent robe, makes the theatre resound with a voice audible to its utmost extremity;[l] there are few spectators who will not feel the full effect of this majestic decoration, and find themselves more disposed to receive the impressions it is intended to communicate.

Before the pieces begin, care is taken to purify the place of assembly;[m] and after they are ended, different bodies of magistrates ascend the stage, and make libations on an altar consecrated to Bacchus.[n] these ceremonies seem to impress a character of sanctity on the pleasures which they precede and which they conclude.

The decorations with which the scene is embel-

[f] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1046. Athen. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 198. * Six Grecian feet, or five French feet, eight inches (six English feet and nearly half an inch.) [g] Apollod. lib. 2. c. 3. § 9. p. 96. Philostr. lib. 2. c. 21. p. 73; lib. 4. c. 16. p. 152. Aul. Gell. lib. 3. c. 10. [h] Winckelm. Hist. de l'Art. t. ii. p. 194. Ejusd. Monum. Ined. tom. ii. p. 247. [i] Lucian. de Saltat. c. 27. t. ii. p. 284. Id. Tragœd. c. 41. t. ii. p. 688. [k] Horat. lib. 1. ep. 3. v. 13. Juvenal. Satir. 6. v. 36. Buleng. de Theatr. lib. 1. c. 7. [l] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 4. p. 77. Philostr. Vit. Apollon. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 495. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. c. 28. t. i. p. 158. [m] Harpocr. et Suid. in Καθαρτ. Poll. lib. 8. c. 9. § 104. [n] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483.

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lished are not less striking to the eyes of the multitude. The idea of them was first conceived, in the time of Æschylus, by an artist named Agatharcus, who, in a learned treatise, explained the principles on which he had proceeded.[o] These first essays were afterwards brought to perfection by the efforts of the successors of Æschylus,[p] and by the works which Anaxagoras and Democritus published on the rules of perspective.[q]

According to the nature of the subject the scene represents a pleasant plain,[r] a frightful solitude,[s] the sea shore, surrounded by steep rocks and deep caverns,[t] tents erected near a besieged city,[u] or a harbour filled with ships.[x] Usually the action passes in the vestibule of a palace,[y] or of a temple:[z] in front is an open place; on the side, houses are seen, between which two principal streets go off, one towards the east, and the other towards the west.[a]

The first display is sometimes very beautiful and grand. Aged men, women, and children, are beheld prostrate near an altar, and imploring the protection of the gods and the aid of their sovereign.[b] In the course of the piece the spectacle is varied in a thousand modes. Youthful princes arrive in a hunting dress, and, surrounded by their friends and their dogs,

[o] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7. p. 124. [p] Schol. in Vit. Soph. [q] Vitruv. ibid. [r] Euripid. in Electr. [s] Æschyl. in Prom. [t] Soph. in Philoct. Euripid. in Iphig. in Taur. [u] Soph. in Ajac. Euripid. in Troad. Id. in Rhes. [x] Euripid. Iphig. in Aul. [y] Id. in Med. in Alcest. in Androm. Soph. in Trach. Id. in Œdip. Tyr. [z] Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. in Ion. [a] Soph. in Ajac, v. 816. Euripid. in Orest. v. 1259. [b] Soph. in Œdip. Tyr. Euripid. in Suppl.

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sing hymns in honour of Diana;[c] or a chariot appears in which is seen Andromache with her son Astyanax;[d] or another chariot, which now brings in solemn pomp to the camp of the Greeks, Clytæmnestra, surrounded by her slaves, and holding the infant Orestes, who is sleeping, in her arms;[e] and now conveys her to the cottage where her daughter Electra is drawing water from a fountain.[f] Here Ulysses and Diomede enter by night the Trojan camp, through which they quickly spread alarm; the sentinels run together from all sides, crying: *Stop, stop! kill, kill!*[g] There the Grecian soldiers, after the taking of Troy, appear on the roofs of the houses, and begin to reduce that celebrated city to ashes.[h] At another time coffins are brought, containing the bodies of the chiefs of the Argives who fell at the siege of Thebes; their funerals are celebrated on the stage, and their widows express their grief in mournful songs. One of them, named Evadne, is seen on the top of a rock, at the foot of which is erected the funeral pile of Capaneus, her husband. She is habited in her richest ornaments, and, deaf to the intreaties of her father, and the cries of her companions, precipitates herself into the devouring flames.[i]

The marvellous also adds to the charm of the exhibition. Some god descends in dramatic machinery; or the shade of Polydorus bursts from the

[c] Euripid. in Helen. v. 1185; in Hippol. v. 58. [d] Id. in Troad. v. 568. [e] Id. in Iphig. in Aul. v. 616. [f] Id. in Electr. v. 55 et 998. [g] Rhes. ap. Eurip. v. 675. [h] Eurip. in Troad. v. 1256. [i] Id. in Suppl. v. 1054 et 1070.

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bosom of the earth, to announce to Hecuba the new calamities by which she is menaced.[k] The ghost of Achilles leaves the tomb, appears to the assembly of the Greeks, and commands them to sacrifice Polyxena, the daughter of Priam;[l] or Helen ascends to the vault of heaven, where, transformed into a constellation, she is to become a propitious sign to mariners;[m] or Medea traverses the air in a car drawn by dragons.[n]

I shall here stop.—Were a greater number of examples necessary, I might easily find them in the Greek tragedies, and especially in the more ancient. One of the pieces of Æschylus is, if I may so speak, only a succession of moveable pictures;[o] some of them interesting, and others so extravagant and monstrous, that they could only present themselves to the licentious imagination of the author.

In fact, exaggeration enters even into the marvellous, when we see on the stage Vulcan accompanied by Strength and Force nailing Prometheus to the summit of Caucasus; and when we behold, immediately after, that strange personage the Ocean arrive, mounted on a kind of hippogriff,[p] and the nymph Io with the horns of a heifer on her head.[q] The Greeks at present reject such portraits, as little suitable to tragedy;[r] and admire the discretion with

[k] Eurip. in Hecub. [l] Id. in Hecub. Soph. ap. Longin. de Sublim. c. 15. p. 114. [m] Id. in Orest. v. 1631. [n] Id. in Med. v. 1321. Schol. ibid. Senec. in Med. v. 1025. Horat. epod. 3. v 14. [o] Æschyl. in Suppl. [p] Id. in Prom. v. 286 et 395. [q] Id. ibid. v. 590 et 675. [r] Aristot. de Poet. c. 14. p. 662.

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which Sophocles has treated this part of the dramatic exhibition in one of his pieces.

Œdipus, deprived of sight, and driven from his states, has arrived with his two daughters at the town of Colonus, in the environs of Athens, whither Theseus comes to grant him an asylum. He had been informed by the oracle that his death would be preceded by extraordinary signs; and that his bones, deposited in a place which should be known only to Theseus and his successors, should for ever draw down the vengeance of the gods on the Thebans, and secure their favour to the Athenians. His design is to reveal, before his death, this secret to Theseus.[s] The Coloniates, however, are fearful lest the presence of Œdipus, unfortunate and defiled with crimes, should occasion some calamity to befal them. While they are employed in these reflections, they suddenly exclaim:

"Almighty Jove, what thunders rend the air![t]

ŒDIPUS.

My daughters, O my daughters, to this place
Is there the generous Theseus who will bring?

ANTIGONE.

His presence what of moment here requires?

ŒDIPUS.

Soon will this winged thunder of high Jove
Lead me to Pluto's realms. Send then with speed.

CHORUS. (*Singing.*)

Awfully dreadful is this deep'ning roar
Roll'd by the hand of Jove: my hoary hairs

[s] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. v. 93 et 650. [t] Id. ibid. v. 1450, &c.

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Are rais'd, through horror, upright on my head,
And my soul sinks within me.—There again
The rapid lightning flames along the sky.
What terrible event doth this portend?
The dread of it appals me: not in vain,
Not unproductive of some dreadful fate,
These thunders roll.—Almighty Jove! Again
Wide through th'ethereal vault of heav'n they roll.

ŒDIPUS.

This, O my daughters, is the fated day
That ends my life: there is no refuge more.

CHORUS.

How know'st thou this? Whence hast thou this divin'd?*

ŒDIPUS.

I know it well; but with the utmost speed
Be your illustrious sovereign hither call'd.

CHORUS (*singing.*)

Ah me! ah me! Again the thunder's roar
Around us with redoubled fury rolls.
Be merciful, O God! if to this land,
My native country, aught of dire event
Thou bringest, yet be merciful to me;
Nor let me share misfortune as my meed,
Because this man with fated woes oppress'd
I saw: Almighty Jove, on thee I call!†"

POTTER.

* The French give this line to Antigone. † From this fragment of a scene, and all that I have said above, it will be manifest that the Greek tragedy was like the French opera, only a mixture of poetry, music, dancing, and scenery: but with two differences; first, that the words were sometimes sung and sometimes declaimed; and, secondly, that the chorus rarely executed dances properly so called, and that these were always accompanied with singing.

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The scene continues in the same manner till the arrival of Theseus, to whom Œdipus hastens to reveal his secret.

The representation of dramatic pieces requires a great number of machines,[u] some of which are employed for flights through the air, the descent of deities, or the apparition of ghosts;[x] and others to produce or give the resemblance of natural effects, as smoke, flame,[y] or thunder; the sound of the latter of which is imitated by causing stones to fall from a great height into a brazen vessel.[z] Other machines, by turning on wheels or rollers, present to the spectators the inside of a house or tent.[a] In this manner is Ajax exhibited in the midst of the animals he has recently sacrificed to his fury.[b]

Managers are appointed to defray a part of the expense attending the representation of the pieces. In return they receive a trifling piece of money from each of the spectators.[c]

At first, and while there was only a small wooden theatre, it was not permitted to require any thing at the door; but the desire of obtaining the best places causing frequent quarrels to arise, the government ordered that, for the future, each person should pay a drachma.[d] The rich were then in possession of all

[u] Plat. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348. [x] Poll. lib. 4. c. 19. § 130. Buleng. lib. 1. c. 21 et 22. [y] Euripid. Orest. v. 1542 et 1677. [z] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 291. [a] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 407. Schol. ibid. [b] Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 344. [c] Demosth. de Cor. p. 477. Theophr. Charact. c. 11. Casaub. ibid. p. 100. Duport. ibid. p. 341 et 383. [d] Hesych. Suid. et Harpocr. in Θεωρικ.

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the places, the price of which was soon reduced to an obolus by the management of Pericles, who wished to attach the poorer class of citizens to his interest. He caused a decree to be passed, by which it was enacted that one of the magistrates, before every dramatic performance, should distribute to each of these citizens two oboli, one to pay for his place, and another to assist him to supply his wants during the festivals.[e]

The building of the present theatre, which, being much more spacious than the old one, is not exposed to the same inconveniences, ought naturally to have put an end to this liberality. But the decree has never been repealed,[f] though its consequences have been extremely pernicious to the state. Pericles had assigned the expense with which he charged the royal treasury to be defrayed from the contributions levied on the allies to make war on the Persians.[g] Emboldened by this first success, he continued to draw from the same source, till the funds of the military treasury were insensibly all devoted to the pleasures of the multitude. Not long since, an orator having proposed to restore them to their original destination, the general assembly passed a decree forbidding any person, under pain of death, to mention the subject;[h] and no one now dares to oppose in form this enormous abuse. Demosthenes has twice attempted, by indirect means, to point out the mis-

[e] Liban. Argum. Olynth. 1. Ulpian. in Olynth. 1. p. 14.
[f] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 1184.
[g] Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 400.
[h] Ulpian. ibid.

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chiefs resulting from it;[i] but, despairing of success, he now expressly declares that no change ought to be made.[k]

The manager sometimes gives the exhibition gratis;[l] sometimes also he distributes tickets which are received instead of the usual pay,[m] which is now fixed at two oboli.[n]

[i] Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 3 et 4. Ulpian. p. 11. Olynth. 3. p. 36. [k] Demosth. Phil. 4. p. 100. [l] Theophr. Charact. c. 11. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Demosth. de Cor. p. 477. Theophr. ibid. c. 6.

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CHAPTER LXXI.

Conversations on the Nature and Object of Tragedy.

At the house of Apollodorus I had become acquainted with one of his nephews, named Zopyrus, a young man of genius, and ardently desirous to dedicate his talents to the stage. One day, when he came to see me, he found with me Nicephorus, a poet who, after some attempts in comedy, believed he had reason to prefer the art of Aristophanes to that of Æschylus.

Zopyrus spoke to me of his favourite subject with new warmth. Is it not strange, said he, that the rules for tragedy have never been collected? We have great models; but these models have also great defects. Formerly genius might soar unrestrained: at present it is expected that it should observe laws in which no one deigns to instruct us. And what need have you of instruction? replied Nicephorus. In a comedy, the events which have preceded the action, the incidents of which it is constituted, the complication and the developement, are all the offspring of the invention of the poet; and the public therefore pass judgment on him with extreme rigour. It is not the same with tragedy, the subjects of which are given and known, and whether they be probable or not is of little importance. Present to us Adrastus,

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the very children will recount to you his misfortunes. At the name alone of Œdipus or Alcmæon, they will tell you that the piece must conclude with the assassination of a mother. If the thread of the intrigue should drop from your hands, make the chorus sing; are you embarrassed with the catastrophe, cause some god to descend in machinery. The people, seduced by the music and the decoration, will indulge you in every kind of licence, and crown without hesitation your noble efforts.[o]

But I perceive your surprise, and will proceed to a more substantial vindication of what I have advanced. He then sat down; and while, after the manner of the sophists, he raised his hand to assume an elegant gesture, we saw Theodectes, the author of several excellent tragedies,[p] enter, accompanied by Polus, one of the ablest actors of Greece,[q] and some others of our friends, who to an exquisite taste joined profound knowledge.—So! said Nicephorus to me, smiling, what must I do with my gesture? You must reserve it, said I, for another opportunity; you will perhaps soon have occasion to employ it; and immediately, taking Zopyrus by the hand, I said to Theodectes, Permit me to introduce to you this young man; he aspires to enter the temple of fame, and I wish to recommend him to those who are acquainted with the road to it.

Theodectes appeared prepossessed in his favour,

[o] Antiph. et Diphil. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 222. [p] Plut. in X. Rhet. tom. ii. p. 337. Suid. in Θεοδ. [q] Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5.

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and promised his advice when it might be requisite. We are at present, added I, surrounded with difficulties, for want of a code of precepts. But whence, replied he, can we obtain it? Men of genius, with models before them, sometimes apply themselves to the practice of an art; but as the theory ought to consider that art in its essence, and raise itself to its ideal beauty, it is necessary that philosophy should enlighten taste, and direct experience. I know, answered I, that you have long studied the nature of the drama, which has procured you deserved applauses; and that you have frequently discussed its principles with Aristotle, both in conversation and in writing. But you know also, said he, that in this research we find, at every step, problems to resolve, and difficulties to vanquish; that each rule is contradicted by an example which is an exception, and that every such example may be justified by success; that the most contrary practices are authorised by great names; and that we are sometimes in danger of censuring the greatest geniuses of Athens. Judge then if I ought to expose myself to this risk in the presence of their mortal enemy.

My dear Theodectes, replied Nicephorus, you shall not be under the necessity of accusing them; I will myself voluntarily undertake this task. Only communicate your doubts, and we will submit to the judgment of the company. Theodectes yielded to our solicitations, but on condition that he should always be permitted to shield himself by the authority of Aristotle, that we would enlighten and instruct him,

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and that the most essential articles should alone be discussed. Notwithstanding the latter precaution, we were obliged to meet several days successively. I shall proceed to give the result of these conversations; but must previously observe that, to avoid confusion, I admit only a few interlocutors.

FIRST CONVERSATION.

Zopyrus. Since you grant me permission, illustrious Theodectes, I shall in the first place ask you, what is the object of tragedy?

Theodectes. The interest arising from terror and pity;[r] and, to produce this effect, I present you with an action which is important, entire, and of a proper extent.[s] Leaving to comedy the vices and absurdities of private persons, tragedy paints only great calamities, and takes its examples from the elevated class of kings and heroes.

Zopyrus. And why does it not sometimes choose them from among the inferior conditions of men? They would make a more lively impression on me, if they approached nearer to the station which I hold in life.[t]

Theodectes. I know not but they might then, if pourtrayed by an able hand, excite in us emotions too violent. When I take my examples from a rank infinitely superior to yours, I leave you the liberty

[r] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. t. ii. p. 660; c. 11. p. 660; c. 14. p. 662. [s] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 656. [t] Id. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 8. t. ii. p. 559.

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to apply them to yourself, and the hope that you may be excepted from similar calamities.

Polus. On the contrary I have always thought that the abasement of power ever makes a greater impression on us than the obscure revolutions of inferior conditions. We notice less the thunderbolt when it falls on a shrub, than when it cleaves an oak which lifted its proud head to the skies.

Theodectes. We should inquire of the neighbouring shrubs in what manner they are affected in these two cases, one of which is more adapted to astonish, but the other to interest them. But, without continuing this discussion any farther, I shall proceed to give a more direct answer to the question of Zopyrus.

Our earliest authors ordinarily exercised their genius on the celebrated personages of the heroic times. We have preserved this custom, because republicans ever contemplate with a kind of malignant joy, thrones overwhelmed in the dust; and the fall of a sovereign, which is followed necessarily by that of an empire. I shall add that the misfortunes of private persons could not be accommodated to the marvellous, which tragedy requires.

The action ought to be entire and perfect; that is to say, it should have a beginning, a middle, and an end:[u] for thus the philosophers express themselves when they speak of a whole, all the parts of which are successively unfolded to our eyes.[x] To

[u] Aristot. de Poet. c. 6. t. ii. p. 656; et c. 7. p. 658. Corneille, 1er Discours sur le Poëme Dramatique, p. 14. [x] Plat. in Parm. t. iii. p. 137.

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illustrate this rule by an example—in the Iliad the action commences by the contention of Agamemnon and Achilles; it is continued by the recital of the misfortunes consequent on the retiring of the latter from the assistance of the Greeks; and it concludes when he yields to the tears of Priam.[y] In fact, after this affecting scene the reader finds nothing more to wish.

Nicephorus. What could the spectator desire after the death of Ajax; is not the action ended at two-thirds of the piece? Yet Sophocles has thought proper to continue it by a frigid contestation between Menelaus and Teucer; one of whom insists on refusing, and the other on granting, the rites of sepulture to the wretched Ajax.[z]

Theodectes. To be deprived of these honours heightens among us the horrors of death, and may therefore add a new terror to the catastrophe of a piece. Our ideas in this begin to change; and if they should so alter that we shall no longer be affected at this outrage, nothing can be more misplaced than the dispute of which you speak: but this will not be the fault of Sophocles. I return to the action.

Do not imagine, with some authors, that its unity is only the unity of the hero; and do not attempt, after their example, to comprehend, even in a poem, all the circumstances of the life of Theseus or of Hercules.[a] Excessively to prolong the interest, or to diffuse it over too great a number of particulars, is

[y] Dacier, Reflexions sur le Poëtique d'Aristote, page 106.
[z] Soph. in Ajac. Corn. 1er Disc. sur le Poëme Dram. p. 13.
[a] Aristot. de Poet. c. 8. p. 658; et c. 18. p. 666.

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to weaken or destroy it.[b] Admire the discretion of Homer: he has chosen for the Iliad only an episode of the war of Troy.[c]

Zopyrus. I know that our emotions are strengthened as they approach and unite; and that the most efficacious means to agitate the soul, is to ply it with redoubled strokes: yet it is necessary that the action should have a certain extent. That of the Agamemnon of Æschylus cannot pass but in a considerable time; that of the suppliants of Euripides lasts several days; while those of the Ajax and the Œdipus of Sophocles are completed in a short portion of a single day. The noblest pieces on our stage present us, on this head, with varieties by which I am embarrassed.

Theodectes. It were to be wished that the action should only last the time of the representation of the piece. But endeavour at least to comprise it within the space of time[d] which elapses between the rising and setting of the sun.*

I have said the more on the action, because it is, if I may so speak, the soul of tragedy;[e] and because the dramatic interest depends especially on the fable, or constitution of the subject.

[b] Aristot. de Poet. c. 26. p. 675. [c] Id. ibid. c. 23. p. 671. [d] Id. ibid. c. 5. p. 656. Dacier, Refl. sur la Poet. p. 66. Pratique du Théatre, liv. 2. c. 7. p. 108. * The words of Aristotle are, *a revolution of the sun;* and from this expression the moderns have formed their rule of twenty-four hours. But the most learned commentators understand by *a revolution of the sun*, only the continuance of that luminary above the horizon; and as the tragedies were performed at the end of winter, the duration of the action ought only to be nine or ten hours. [e] Aristot. c. 6. p. 657.

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Polus. This principle is established by facts: I have seen pieces succeed which had no other merit than a fable well formed and ably conducted: and I have seen others in which the manners, sentiments, and style, seemed to insure success: which nevertheless failed, because the ordonnance of the plot was defective. This indeed is the error of all beginners.

Theodectes. It has also been that of several ancient authors. They sometimes neglected their plans, and atoned for their defect by the beauties of their language and descriptions, which are in tragedy what colouring is in painting; which, however brilliant it may be, always produces less effect than the elegant contours of a figure simply designed by the hand of a master.[f]

Begin therefore by delineating the outlines of your subject,[g] and afterwards enrich it with the ornaments of which you find it susceptible. In disposing it, be mindful of the difference between the historian and the poet;[h] the former of whom relates things as they actually happened, and the latter as they might or ought to have happened. If history only presents you with a fact destitute of circumstances, you are at liberty to embellish it with fiction, and to add to the principal action particular actions which may render it more interesting. But you must add nothing which is not founded on reason, or which is improbable or unnecessary.[i]

[f] Aristot. de Poet. c. 6. p. 657. [g] Id. ibid. c. 17. p. 665.
[h] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 659. [i] Id. ibid.

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The conversation now became more general. Remarks were made on the different species of the probable; and it was observed that there is one for the common people, and another for more enlightened persons: it was agreed, therefore, to consider that only which is required in an exhibition presented to the multitude. The following are the conclusions which were received with general assent.

1. That is called probable, which almost every one allows to have the appearance of truth.[k] By this word also is understood whatever usually happens in given circumstances.[l] Thus, in history, such an event is ordinarily followed by such or such consequences. In morals, a man of such a condition in life, and such an age and character, must speak and act in such a certain manner.[m]

2. It is probable, as the poet Agatho has said, that events will happen which are not probable; as when, for example, a man is vanquished by another man who is less strong or less courageous. It is this extraordinary species of the probable of which some authors have made use for the unravelling of the plots of their pieces.[n]

3. Whatever we believe to have happened, is probable; and whatever we believe never to have happened, is improbable.[o]

4. It is better to admit what is really impossible, but at the same time probable, than what is really

[k] Ap. Aristot. Rhet. ad Alexand. c. 15. t. ii. p. 625. [l] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 517. [m] Id. de Poet. c. 9. p. 659. [n] Id. ibid. c. 18. p. 666. [o] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. p. 659.

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possible but without probability.[p] As, for example, the passions, injustice, and absurdities attributed to the gods are not among the number of possible things, and the crimes and calamities of the ancient heroes not always among those that are probable: but the multitude have consecrated these opinions by adopting them; and in the theatre the general opinion is equivalent to truth.[q]

5. Probability ought to be preserved in the constitution of the subject, in the connection of the scenes, in the pourtraying of the manners,[r] in the choice of their discoveries,[s] and in every part of the drama. You will incessantly ask yourself, Is it possible, is it necessary that such a character should speak or act in such a manner?[t]

Nicephorus. Was it possible that Œdipus should have lived twenty years with Jocasta, without making any inquiry concerning the circumstances of the death of Laius?

Theodectes. Doubtless it was not: but the general opinion supposed the fact; and Sophocles, to conceal its absurdity, does not begin the action till the moment which terminates the calamities that had afflicted the city of Thebes. Whatever had passed before that time is without the drama, as Aristotle has made me observe.[u]

Nicephorus. Your friend, to excuse Sophocles,

[p] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 24. p. 672. [q] Id. ibid. c. 25. p. 673. Corneille, 1er Discours sur le Poëme Dram. p. 2; Discours. ii. p. 57. [r] Aristot. de Poet. c. 15. p. 663. [s] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 664. [t] Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 663. [u] Id. ibid. c. 24. p. 672.

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attributes to him an intention which he never had; for Œdipus openly declares his ignorance, and that he had never known in what manner the death of Laius had happened. He asks where that prince was killed; whether at Thebes, in the country, or in a foreign land.[x] Had he then never given any attention to an event to which he owed the hand of the queen, and the throne? Had no person ever spoken to him concerning it? We must surely allow that Œdipus had but little curiosity, and that his courtiers were remarkably reserved and discreet.

Theodectes endeavoured in vain to vindicate Sophocles: we all agreed in opinion with Nicephorus. During this discussion several pieces were mentioned which owed their failure only to a defect in probability; and, among others, one by Carcinus, in which the spectators seeing a principal character enter a temple, and not seeing him come out, were so disgusted when he appeared again in one of the following scenes, that the piece was condemned.[y]

Polus. It must have had more essential faults. I have frequently acted in the Electra of Sophocles, in which mention is made of the Pythian games, the institution of which was posterior by several centuries to the time when the heroes of the piece lived.[z] The audience at every representation murmured at this anachronism; yet the tragedy has always been suffered to remain on the stage.

[x] Sophocl. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 112 et 228. [y] Aristot. de Poet. c. 17. p. 665. [z] Id. ibid. c. 24. p. 672.

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Theodectes. This fault, which escapes the notice of the greater part of the spectators, is less dangerous than the former, of which every body can judge. In general, those improbabilities which are only observed by intelligent persons, or which are shaded over by a lively interest, are not greatly to be dreaded by an author. How many pieces are there in which it is supposed that, while a few verses are recited, a number of events have passed off the stage, the transacting of which would require the greater part of a day![a] Why does not this give offence? Because the spectator, hurried along by the rapidity of the action, has neither leisure nor inclination to measure back his steps, and to employ himself in calculations which might weaken the illusions.*

Here ended the first conversation.

SECOND CONVERSATION.

THE next day, when all the company were met, Zopyrus said to Theodectes, You yesterday showed that the illusion of the drama ought to be founded on unity of action and on probability: what more is necessary to its perfection?

[a] Soph. in Œdip. Colon. v. 1625 et 1649. Id. in Trachin. v. 642 et 747. Euripid. in Androm. v. 1008 et 1070. Brumoy. t. iv. p. 24. Dupuy, Trad. des Trachin. not. 24. * In the *Phédre* of Racine, it is not observed that, while 37 verses are recited, Aricia, after having left the stage, must have arrived at the place where the horses wait, and that Theramenes must have found time enough to return to Theseus.

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Theodectes. To attain the great end of tragedy, which is to excite terror and pity.[b] This is accomplished—1. By the exhibition of the scene, which presents to our view Œdipus with a bloody mask, Telephus clothed in rags, or the Eumenides with their terrific symbols. 2. By the action, when its subject, and the manner in which the incidents are connected, are such as to excite strong emotions in the spectator. It is in the latter of these means that the genius of the poet is especially displayed.

It had long been perceived that, of all the passions, terror and pity could alone produce a lively and durable pathos;[c] hence the efforts which elegy and tragedy successively made to communicate to the soul emotion, which, without violence, might draw it from its languor, and cause it to taste pleasures without remorse. I tremble, and commiserate the woes which my fellow-mortals suffer, and which I myself may in my turn experience:[d] but I cherish this alarm and these tears; for the former only pains my heart, that I may instantly find relief in the latter. If the object which compels my tears were before my eyes, how should I bear to look on it;[e] Imitation shows it to me through a veil which softens its features; the copy is always less vivid than the original; and this imperfection is one of its principal merits.

Polus. Is not this what Aristotle meant, when he

[b] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 662; c. 9. p. 660; c. 11. p. 660. [c] Marmont. Poet. Franc. tom. ii. p. 96. [d] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 559. [e] Id. de Poet. c. 4. p. 654.

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asserted that tragedy and music effect the purgation of terror and pity ?[f]

Theodectes. No doubt. To purge these two passions, is to purify their nature, and repress their excesses: and, in fact, the imitative arts take away from the reality all that is odious, and retain only what is interesting. It hence follows that emotions too harsh and painful are not to be excited. It is still remembered that Amasis, king of Egypt, when plunged to the lowest depths of human misery, wept not when he beheld his son led to death, but burst into a flood of tears at sight of one of his friends asking alms.[g] The latter of these scenes melted his heart, which the former had hardened. Remove far from me that excess of terror, those fearful shocks, which stifle pity. Avoid staining the stage with blood. Let not Medea murder her children, Œdipus tear out his eyes, or Ajax pierce himself with his sword,* in the sight of the spectators. This is one of the principal rules of tragedy.

Nicephorus. And one which you incessantly violate. You love to feast our eyes with fearful and disgusting images. Recollect Œdipus[h] and Polymnestor,[i] who, after they are deprived of sight, again appear on the stage, bathed in blood, which still streams from their eyes.

[f] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 656. Id. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 7. t. ii. p. 458. Remarq. de Batt. sur la Poet. d'Aristot. p. 225. [g] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 559. * See note XIV. at the end of the volume. [h] Soph. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 1320 et 1330. [i] Euripid. in Hecub. v. 1066.

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Theodectes. This spectacle is foreign to the action; and our poets have had the weakness to grant it to the wishes of the multitude, who require violent shocks.

Nicephorus. It is you who have familiarised them to these horrid scenes. I shall not speak of those crimes, the very recital of which is dreadful; of those wives, mothers, children, murdered by those who were united to them by the tenderest ties: you would reply that these facts are consecrated by history; that they have been recounted to you repeatedly from your infancy; that they passed in ages so remote [k] that they now only excite that species of terror which is proper for tragedy. But you have found the fearful secret of increasing their horror. My hair rises erect, when, at the cries of Clytæmnestra, who is stabbed by her son Orestes behind the scenes, Electra, her daughter, exclaims on the stage, Strike, if thou canst, a second time! [l]

Theodectes. Sophocles has, through this whole tragedy, rendered the character of that princess so interesting; she is so loaded with misfortune and ignominy; she passes through so many paroxysms of fear, despair, and joy, that without daring to justify, we are inclined to pardon this sally of ferocity, which escapes her in the first moment of passion. Observe that Sophocles foresaw its effect, and that, to correct it, he has made Electra declare, in a preceding scene, that her vengeance is only aimed against the murderer of her father.[m]

[k] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 559. [l] Soph. in Elect. v. 1438. [m] Id. ibid. v. 963.

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This example, which shows with what address an able hand prepares and directs its strokes, proves at the same time that the sentiments with which it is wished to inspire us, depend especially on the relations and qualities of the principal character.

We may remark that an action which passes between persons who are enemies, but indifferent to each other, makes on us only a transitory impression; but that our emotions are of the strongest kind when we behold any one about to perish by the hand of a brother, a sister, a son, or a parent. Let your heroes, therefore, be as much as possible at variance with nature: but do not choose a villanous character; for such a one, whether he pass from misfortune to happiness, or from happiness to misfortune, will neither excite terror nor pity.[n] Avoid also presenting to us a man of sublime virtue who falls into calamity which he has in no manner drawn upon himself.[o]

Polus. These principles require to be discussed and proved. That the punishment of the wicked produces neither compassion nor fear, I can readily conceive. I ought only to pity misfortunes which are unmerited, and the villain has but too well deserved the evils he suffers. I can only tremble at the calamities of one who resembles myself, and in the villain this resemblance is wanting. But nothing is so terrible and so affecting as innocence persecuted, oppressed, shedding bitter tears, and uttering fruitless cries.

Theodectes. Nor is any thing so odious as the sight

[n] Aristot. de Poet. c. 13. Corneille, Discours ii. [o] Aristot. ibid.

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of innocence suffering contrary to all appearance of justice. Then, instead of that pure pleasure, that sweet satisfaction, which I seek when I repair to the theatre, I feel only painful shocks, which at once wound my heart and offend my reason. You will perhaps think that I speak a new language; but it is that of those philosophers who, in these modern times, have considered the nature of the pleasure we receive from tragedy.[p]

What then is the picture which tragedy should present to us on the stage? That of a man who may, in some measure, reproach himself with his misfortunes. Have you not observed that the calamities of individuals and even the revolutions of empires, frequently originate entirely from a first fault, remote, or immediate; a fault, the consequences of which are the more terrible because they were unforeseen? To apply this remark, we shall find, in Thyestes, vengeance carried to an extreme; in Œdipus and Agamemnon, false ideas of honour and ambition: in Ajax, pride which disdains the assistance of heaven;[q] in Hippolytus an injury done to a jealous divinity;[r] in Jocasta, a neglect of the most sacred duties; in Priam and Hecuba, too great weakness in favour of the ravisher of Helen; and, in Antigone, a preference of the sentiments of nature to established laws.

The fate of Thyestes and of Œdipus makes us shudder;[s] but Thyestes, deprived by Atreus, his

[p] Aristot. de Poet. c. 14. p. 662. [q] Soph. in Ajac. v. 785.
[r] Euripid. in Hipp. v. 113. [s] Aristot. de Poet. c. 14. p. 662.

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brother, of the throne, which was his right, took revenge by the most cruel of outrages, by debauching the wife of his brother. Atreus was culpable, and Thyestes not innocent. It is in vain that Œdipus asserts his innocence, and exclaims that he killed his father without knowing him:[t] as the oracle had lately declared to him[u] that he should commit the crime of parricide, ought he to have disputed for precedence with an old man whom he met on his road; and to have deprived both him, and the slaves by whom he was attended, of life, for a slight insult?

Zopyrus. He was not master of his anger.

Theodectes. He ought to have been; the philosophers admit not that any passion can be sufficiently violent to hurry us away in despite of our utmost efforts;[x] and if the spectators in the theatre, who are less enlightened, are more indulgent, they at least know that the momentary extravagance of passion is sufficient to precipitate us into an abyss of ills.

Zopyrus. Will you dare to condemn Antigone for having, in contempt of an unjust prohibition, performed the rights of sepulture for her brother?

Theodectes. I admire her courage, and I lament that she should be reduced to choose between two opposite duties; but, in fine, the law was express,[y] Antigone had broken it, and her condemnation had a pretext.

If, among the causes assigned for the calamities of the principal personage, there are some which it

[t] Soph. in Œdip. Col. v. 270, 538, et 575. [u] Id. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 812. [x] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 3. c. 1, 2, 3. t. ii. p. 28, &c. [y] Soph. in Antig. v. 454.

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may be easy to excuse, you shall then represent him with weakness and defects which may palliate in our eyes the horror of his destiny.

From these reflections you will concentre the interest on a man who shall be rather good than wicked; and who shall become unhappy, not by an atrocious crime, but by one of those great faults which are easily pardoned in prosperity: such were Œdipus and Thyestes.[z]

Polus. You then disapprove of those pieces in which a man, in despite of himself, becomes both culpable and unhappy? Yet they have always succeeded; and tears will ever be excited by the deplorable fate of Phædra, Orestes, and Electra.

This remark occasioned a very warm dispute among the company, some of whom maintained that, to adopt the principle of Theodectes, was to condemn the ancient dramas, the great motive of which was the blind decrees of destiny; others observed that, in the greater part of the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, these decrees, though mentioned at intervals in the dialogue, had no influence either on the misfortunes of the principal personage, or on the progress of the action. Among other pieces referred to in proof of this assertion, were the Antigone of Sophocles, and the Medea and Andromache of Euripides.

The conversation occasionally turned on that fatality which is irresistible either by gods or men.[a]

[z] Aristot. de Poet. c. 13. p. 661. [a] Æschyl. in Prom. v. 513.

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This doctrine, said one, appears more dangerous than it is in reality. Observe its partisans: they reason as if they could effect nothing, and act as if every thing were in their power. Others, after having shown that such an opinion serves only to justify crimes, and discourage virtue, asked, with surprise, in what manner it could first have been introduced.

They were answered — There was a time when, the common feelings of humanity being found insufficient to restrain the powerful from oppressing the weak, endeavours were made to curb their violence by religious fear. It was an impiety not only to neglect the worship of the gods, but also to despoil their temples, to drive away the flocks consecrated to them, and to insult their ministers. Such flagrant crimes, it was suggested, could not escape punishment, unless the guilty person made reparation for the outrage, and came to the feet of the altars, to submit to the ceremonies which could alone purify him. The priests ceased not attentively to observe him. Did Fortune lavish on him her favours? Heed it not, said they; by this lure the gods will entice him into the snare.[b] Did he experience any of those misfortunes which are annexed to the lot of humanity? Behold, exclaimed they, the effects of the anger of heaven, which could not but burst on his devoted head. Did he escape the punishment he had merited during life? The thunderbolt, added they, is but suspended; his children, or his children's

[b] Æschyl. in Pers. v. 93.

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children, shall bear the weight and the chastisement of his iniquity.[c] They are therefore accustomed to imagine they see the vengeance of the gods pursuing the guilty, even to their latest generation; which vengeance is considered as justice with respect to him who has merited it, and as fatality with regard to those on whom it devolves by inheritance. This doctrine appeared to be the solution of that concatenation of crimes and calamities which had destroyed the most ancient families of Greece. Let us give some examples.

Œneus, king of the Ætolians, had neglected to offer sacrifices to Diana, who failed not to take vengeance for the omission. Hence the multiplied mischiefs that laid waste his states;[d] and the murderous enmities and dissensions which distracted the royal family, and ended in the death of Meleagar the son of Œneus.[e]

A crime committed by Tantalus long caused the descendants of Pelops to be persecuted by the Furies. They had already infected the blood of that unfortunate family with all their poisons, when they directed the shaft of Agamemnon against a hind consecrated to Diana.[f] The goddess required the sacrifice of Iphigenia: this sacrifice served as a pretext to Clytæmnestra to murder her husband.[g] Orestes revenged the

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 91. Euripid. in Hippol. v. 831 et 1378. [d] Homer. Iliad. 9. v. 529. [e] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 31. p. 874. [f] Soph. in Elect. v. 570. [g] Id. ibid. v. 530. Euripid. in Electr. v. 1020.

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death of his father by killing his mother, and was himself pursued until he had received expiation.

Let us also recollect that uninterrupted succession of horrid crimes and dire disasters which poured like a torrent on the family in possession of the throne of Thebes, from Cadmus, the founder of the city, to the children of the wretched Œdipus. What was their baleful origin? Cadmus had killed a dragon which watched over a fountain consecrated to Mars; he had married Hermoine, the daughter of Mars and Venus; and Vulcan, in a fit of jealousy, presented that princess with a fatal robe which transmitted crimes and misfortunes to her descendants.[h]

Happy, nevertheless, were nations when the vengeance of heaven extended only to the posterity of the guilty person! How often has it been seen to fall on a whole kingdom! How many times also have the enemies of a people become likewise the enemies of their gods, whom they had never offended!

For this idea, which is derogatory to the divine nature, another that is not less so was afterwards substituted. Some sages, terrified at the vicissitudes which subvert all human affairs, imagined the existence of a power that sports with our projects, and seizes the moment of our happiness to immolate us to its cruel jealousy.[i]

From these monstrous systems, concluded Theo-

[h] Euripid. in Phœn. v. 941. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 169. Bannier, Mythol. t. iii. p. 73. [i] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 32; lib. 3. c. 40; lib. 7. c. 46. Soph. in Philoct. v. 789.

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deces, it followed that a man may be irresistibly hurried into crimes and misfortunes by the single impulse of a divinity to whom his family, his nation, or his posterity is odious.[k]

Yet, as the harshness of this doctrine became more sensible in a tragedy than in other writings, our early authors frequently only employed it with correctives, and thus approached the rule which I have laid down. Sometimes the person who was the victim of fatality justified it by a crime he had himself added to that which had been transmitted to him: sometimes, after having discharged the debt he owed to fate, he was brought back in safety from the precipice to which he had been hurried. Phædra is inflamed with a criminal passion, which Venus had kindled in her heart, to destroy Hippolytus. How does Euripides proceed? He gives to this princess only a secondary part; he does still more: she conceives and executes the fearful project of accusing Hippolytus.[l] Her passion is involuntary, but her crime is not so; she is only an odious character, who, after having raised some pity, ends by exciting indignation.

The same Euripides has wished to concentrate all the interest on Iphigenia. Notwithstanding her innocence and her virtues, she is to expiate with her blood the offence committed by Agamemnon against Diana. How does the author act here? He does not

[k] Æschyl. ap. Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 380. Euripid. in Hippol. v. 831 et 1378. Casaub. in Aristoph. Equit. v. 443.
[l] Euripid. in Hippol. v. 728 et 877.

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complete the woes of Iphigenia: the goddess conveys her into Tauris, and is soon to bring her back triumphant into Greece.[m]

The doctrine of fatality is no where more conspicuous than in the tragedies of Orestes and Electra. But though an oracle is adduced which commands them to revenge their father's death;[n] though they are filled with terror before, and with remorse after, the crime is committed; though they are encouraged by the appearance of a divinity, who justifies the action, and promises them a lot more fortunate;[o] these subjects are not the less contrary to the object of tragedy. They nevertheless have been successful; because nothing can be more moving than the danger to which Orestes is exposed, the misfortunes of Electra, the discovery of the brother and sister; and because, besides, every subject receives new embellishments from the pen of Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides.

At present, since a more rational philosophy has forbidden us to attribute to the Divinity a single emotion of envy or injustice,[p] I doubt whether similar fables treated for the first time with the same genius, would receive universal approbation. I maintain, at least, that we should see with displeasure the principal character incur the guilt of an atrocious crime: and in this I am supported by the manner in which Astydamas has lately conducted the fable of his Alc-

[m] Euripid. Iphig. in Aulid. v. 1583. Id. in Taur. v. 783.
[n] Euripid. in Orest. v. 416 et 593. Soph. in Electr. v. 35, 70, &c. [o] Euripid. ibid. v. 1625. Id. in Electr. v. 1238.
[p] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 29. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176.

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maon. History supposes that this young prince was authorised to plunge the poniard into the breast of his mother. Several authors have treated this subject. Euripides has fruitlessly exhausted all the resources of art to give a colouring to an act so horrid.[q] Astydamas has had recourse to an expedient adapted to the present delicacy of our taste. Eriphile indeed perishes by the hand of her son, but he is ignorant that she is his mother.[r]

Polus. If you do not admit this transmission of crimes and calamities that descend from fathers to children, you will be forced to suppress the complaints with which the theatre incessantly resounds against the injustice of the gods and the rigours of destiny.

Theodectes. We will not deprive the wretched of their privilege; we will leave them their complaints, but they shall take a more just direction; for they have still a foundation more real, and no less terrifying, than fatality; I mean the enormous disproportion between their errors and the evils consequent on them; as when they become the most unfortunate of men by a momentary gust of passion, by a trivial imprudence, or even, sometimes, by an excess of prudence; or in fine, when the errors of the leaders of a people carry desolation through a whole empire.

Such calamities were very frequent in those remote times, when violent passions, as ambition and revenge, displayed all their energy. Tragedy therefore began by exhibiting the events of the heroic ages; events

[q] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 28. [r] Id. de Poet. c. 14. p. 663.

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which are in part preserved in the writings of Homer, and in a still greater number in a work entitled the Epic Cycle, in which different authors have collected the ancient traditions of the Greeks.[s]

Besides this source from which Sophocles has drawn almost all his subjects, others have sometimes been taken from modern history, and others entirely invented. Æschylus brought on the stage the Defeat of Xerxes at Salamis,[t] and Phrynichus the Taking of Miletus.[u] Agatho brought out a piece, the whole of which is invention,[x] and Euripides another which is entirely allegorical.[y]

These different attempts succeeded,[z] but were not imitated. Perhaps they require too great talents; or perhaps it was perceived that history does not grant the poet sufficient liberty, that fiction grants him too much, and that both are with difficulty reconciled to the nature of our theatrical exhibition. What then does that in fact require? An action which shall be probable, and frequently accompanied by the apparition of departed spirits, and the intervention of the gods. If you should choose a recent fact, it will be necessary to exclude the marvellous from your piece; and if you invent your subject, as it will neither be supported by the authority of history, nor the prejudice of public opinion, you will risk offending against probability.[a] Hence it is, that the subjects of our

[s] Casaub. in Athen. lib. 7. c. 3. p. 301. [t] Æschyl. in Pers. [u] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 21. [x] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. p. 659. [y] Dionys. Halic. de Art. Rhet. t. v. p. 301 et 355. [z] Aristot. ibid. [a] Corneille, 1er Discours sur le Poëme Dramat. p. 2.

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most excellent pieces are now taken from a small number of ancient families, as those of Alcmæon, Thyestes, Œdipus, Telephus, and some others, which formerly exhibited so many calamitous scenes.[b]

Nicephorus. I must beg leave to tell you, with all due submission, that you are insupportably tiresome with your Agamemnons, your Oresteses, your Œdipuses, and all your list of proscribed characters. Are you not ashamed to present to us subjects so trite and threadbare? I sometimes cannot but admire the sterility of your men of genius, and the patience of the Athenians.

Theodectes. You certainly are not serious, for you know well that we draw from an inexhaustible source. If we are obliged to pay a certain respect to received fables, it is only in some essential particulars: Clytæmnestra must indeed die by the hand of Orestes, and Eriphile by that of Alcmæon;[c] but the circumstances of the same fact vary in the ancient traditions,[d] and the author may choose those which are most suitable to his plan. It is sufficient, also, that he introduces one or two known personages; the rest are entirely at his disposal.[e] Each subject offers innumerable varieties, and ceases to be the same when it is diversified by a new complication or a new developement.[f]

1. Variety in the fable, which may be simple or complex.[g] It is simple when the action continues and

[b] Aristot. de Poet. c. 13. p. 662; c. 14. p. 663. [c] Id. ibid. c. 14. p. 662. [d] Schol. Argum. in Ajac. Sophocl. [e] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. p. 659. [f] Id. ibid. c. 18. Corneille, Discours ii. p. 53. [g] Aristot. ibid. c. 10 et 11. p. 660.

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ends in one uniform manner, without its course being diverted or suspended by any accident; and complex when it turns on one of those discoveries which change the relations of the personages between themselves, or one of those revolutions which alter their condition, or by the union of both these.

Here the merits of these two species of fable were discussed by the company, and it was agreed that the complex was to be preferred to the simple.[h]

2. Variety in the incidents which excite terror and pity. If this double effect is produced by the sentiments of nature being so mistaken or opposed, that one of the characters risks the loss of life; then he who kills, or purposes to kill, may act in one of these four ways. 1. He may commit the crime with deliberate intention, the examples of which are frequent among the ancients. I shall adduce that of Medea, who, in Euripides, forms and executes the project of killing her children;[i] but her action is the more barbarous, because it is unnecessary. I believe that, at present, no writer could venture a similar incident. 2. The crime may not be discovered till after it is committed, as is the case in the Œdipus of Sophocles. Here the ignorance of the guilty person renders the action less odious, and the light which successively breaks in on him heightens the interest. This method has our approbation. 3. The action sometimes proceeds to the very moment of execution, and suddenly stops short by an unexpected discovery.

[h] Aristot. de Poet. c. 13. p. 661. [i] Id. ibid. c. 14. p. 663.

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Thus Merope recognises her son, and Iphigenia her brother, at the very moment when they are about to give the fatal blow. This mode is the most perfect of all.

Polus. In fact, when Merope holds the sword suspended over the head of her son, a general shuddering seems to seize the spectators,[k] as I have myself frequently witnessed.

Theodectes. The fourth and the worst of all these ways is, when the person stops in the moment of executing his design, by a simple change of will. This method has scarcely ever been employed. Aristotle once mentioned to me the example of Hæmon, who draws his sword against Creon his father, and, instead of executing his purpose, stabs himself.[l]

Nicephorus. How was it possible for him to execute it? Creon, seized with fear, had fled.[m]

Theodectes. His son might have pursued him.

Polus. Perhaps he only meant to kill himself in his father's presence, as he seems to have threatened in one of the preceding scenes;[n] for, after all, Sophocles was too well acquainted with dramatic propriety to think of making the virtuous Hæmon attempt the life of his father.

Zopyrus. Why should he not? Do you not know that Hæmon was on the point of marrying Antigone, whom he loved, and by whom he was beloved; that his father had condemned her to be buried alive; that

[k] Plut. de Esu Carn. t. ii. p. 998. [l] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 14. p. 663. [m] Soph. in Antigon. v. 1248. [n] Id. ibid. v. 672. Schol. ibid.

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unable to prevail on him by tears and intreaties to reverse the sentence, he had found her dead, and threw himself at her feet in an agony of love and rage? Can it excite your indignation, if, suddenly perceiving Creon, he rushes, not on his father, but on the murderer of his mistress? Certainly if he did not vindictively pursue the wretched tyrant, it was because he was in too much haste to terminate a hated life.

Theodectes. Represent his action as more noble; say that his first emotion originated in fury and vengeance, but that which succeeded it in remorse and virtue.

Zopyrus. Under whatever point of view I consider it, I maintain that this incident is one of the most pathetic and sublime on our stage; and if your friend Aristotle did not feel it to be so, it was probably because he has never felt the passion of love.

Theodectes. Amiable Zopyrus, beware lest you betray the secrets of your heart. I am willing, from complaisance to you to reject this example; but let us still retain the principle, that an atrocious action ought either not to be begun, or not abandoned without a motive. But let us continue to enumerate the ways in which a fable may be varied.

3. Variety in the discoveries, which are one of the most copious sources of the pathetic, especially when they produce a sudden revolution in the condition of the persons of the drama.[o] Of these there are several kinds:[p] some, destitute of art, and too frequently

[o] Aristot. de Poet. c. 11. p. 660. [p] Id. ibid. c. 16. p. 664.

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made the resource of indifferent poets, are founded on accidental or natural signs, as bracelets, necklaces, scars, or marks impressed on the body;* others display invention. That of Dicæogenes, in his poem entitled the Cypriacs, is greatly praised. The hero seeing a picture descriptive of his misfortunes, sheds tears, by which he is betrayed. Like commendation is bestowed on that of Polyides, who in his Iphigenia, makes Orestes exclaim, when about to be sacrificed, "Thus was it my sister Iphigenia was sacrificed in Aulis!" The most beautiful arise out of the action. See the Œdipus of Sophocles, and the Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides.[q]

4. Variety in the characters. Those of the personages which are frequently brought on the stage are in some measure fixed among us, but it is only in their general tenor. Achilles is impetuous and violent, Ulysses prudent and dissimulating, Medea cruel and implacable; but all these qualities are capable of such gradations and varieties, that, from one single character, a number may be produced, which have only the leading features in common; such is that of Electra,[r] and that of Philoctetes,[s] as pourtrayed, respectively, by Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The defects of Achilles may be exaggerated; but it is better to enfeeble them by the splen-

* Aristotle mentions a discovery produced by a very strange means, by the sound of a shuttle. (Aristot. de Poet. c. 16. p. 664.) This was employed in the Tereus of Sophocles, a piece now lost. [q] Aristot. de Poet. c. 16. p. 655. [r] Æschyl. in Chœph. Soph. et Eurip. in Electr. [s] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 52. p. 548.

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dor of his virtues, as has been practised by Homer. By pursuing this method, the poet Agatho produced an Achilles which had never before been seen on the stage.[t]

5. Variety in the catastrophes. Some dramatic pieces conclude happily, and others disastrously. There are some in which, by a double revolution, both the virtuous and the wicked experience a change of fortune. The first of these endings seems only suitable to comedy.[u]

Zopyrus. Why should it be excluded from tragedy? Excite the most passionate emotions through the whole of the piece; but at least suffer me to respire at the conclusion, and let my heart receive that comfort which may reward its sensibility.

Theodectes. You would wish me then to extinguish that tender interest by which you have been agitated, and that I should stop those tears which you have shed with so much pleasure? The best recompence I can bestow on your sensibility is to continue as long as possible the emotions it has received. From those moving scenes in which the author displays all the secrets of art and eloquence, only results a pathos of situation; and we wish a pathos which may rise from the action, increase from scene to scene, and agitate the soul of the spectator as often as he hears even the name of the piece.

Zopyrus. And can you not find this in those tragedies in which the virtuous and the wicked experience a change of condition?

[t] Aristot. de Poet. c. 15. p. 664. [u] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 662.

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Theodectes. I have already hinted that the pleasure which they procure us too nearly resembles that which we receive from comedy. It is true that the spectators begin to approve of this double revolution, and that, even some authors have assigned it the first rank: but I think it only deserves to be placed in the second; and I appeal to the experience of Polus, which are the pieces that are esteemed truly tragic? [x]

Polus. In general, those of which the catastrophe is calamitous.

Theodectes. And permit me to ask you, Anacharsis, what effects you experienced from the different destinies of the principal personage in our dramas?

Anacharsis. At first I shed tears profusely, without investigating their source. I afterward perceived that your finest pieces lost a part of their interest at a second representation; but that this loss was beyond comparison more sensible in those which terminated happily.

Nicephorus. It remains for me to ask you how you can be reconciled with yourself. You would have the catastrophe calamitous, and yet you have preferred that revolution by which a man is snatched from misfortune, and placed in a more prosperous condition. [y]

Theodectes. I have preferred the discovery which prevents the completion of an atrocious act; but I have not said that it ought to be made the developement of the plot. Orestes, when recognised by

[x] Aristot. de Poet. c. 13. p. 662. [y] Dacier, Poet. de Aristote, p. 224. Victor. in Aristot.

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Iphigenia, is on the point of falling by the arms of Thoas;[a] and, when recognised by Electra, is persecuted by the Furies.[a] He has therefore only passed from one danger and one calamity to another. Euripides extricates him from this latter situation by the intervention of a divinity—an expedient which might be necessary in his Iphigenia in Tauris, but which was by no means so in his Orestes; the action of which would be more tragic if he had abandoned the assassins of Clytæmnestra to the tortures of remorse. But Euripides was fond of making the gods descend in machinery; and has but too frequently employed this gross artifice to explain the subject, and develope the plot.

Zopyrus. Do you condemn the apparitions of the gods, which are so favourable to scenic decoration....

*Nicephorus....*And so convenient to the poet!

Theodectes. I would only permit them when it is necessary to derive from the past or future a light which can be obtained by no other means.[b] Without such a motive, the prodigy does more honour to the machinist than to the author.

Let the poet ever be guided by the laws of reason, and the rules of probability. Let the fable be so constructed that it may explain itself, and become complicated and unravelled without effort. Let no celestial agent descend to inform us, in a frigid prologue, of events which have passed prior to the opening of the drama, or which are to happen in

[a] Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. [a] Id. in Orest. [b] Id. de Poet. c. 15. p. 664.

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the sequel. Let the knot, constituted by obstacles that have preceded the action, be drawn closer and closer, till the moment when the catastrophe commences;[c] let the Episodes be neither too long nor too numerous;[d] let the incidents rapidly arise out of each other, and produce unexpected events;[e] in a word, let the different parts of the action be so well conducted, that if any one should be taken away or transposed, the whole would be destroyed or changed.[f] Imitate not those authors who are ignorant of the art of happily terminating an intrigue ingenuously complicated:[g] and who, after having imprudently ventured into the midst of rocks, can find no other means to extricate themselves but by imploring the succour of heaven.

I have now pointed out the different ways in which the fable may be treated; to these may be added the innumerable varieties which the sentiments, and espesially the music, present. Complain not, therefore, of the sterility of our subjects; and remember, that to place them in a new light is to invent.

Nicephorus. But you do not give them sufficient animation. We are sometimes tempted to say that you fear to investigate the passions; if by accident you engage them in a contest with each other, or an opposition to rigorous duties,[h] you scarcely permit us a glimpse of their incessant conflicts.

Theodectes. More than once we have seen the sen-

[c] Aristot. de Poet. c. 15. p. 664; c. 18. p. 666. [d] Id. ibid. cap. 17. p. 665; c. 18. p. 666. [e] Id. ibid. c. 7. p. 658; c. 9. p. 660. Corneille, Discours iii. p. 74. [f] Aristot. de Poet. c. 8. p. 659. [g] Id. ibid. c. 18. p. 666. [h] Euripid. in Orest.

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timents of conjugal love[i] and those of friendship[k] pourtrayed in the softest colours; and a hundred times beheld the furies of ambition,[l] hatred,[m] jealousy,[n] and revenge,[o] depicted with a more vigorous pencil. Would you wish that on these occasions we should have been presented with portraits, with analyses of the human heart? Among us, every art and science has its proper limits. We leave the theory of the passions to morals or rhetoric,[p] and pay less attention to their investigation than to their effects: for it is not man in general which we represent to the spectators, but the vicissitudes of his life, and especially the misfortunes to which he is exposed.[q] Tragedy is so much the recital of an action proper to excite terror and pity, that many of our pieces conclude with these words of the chorus—"*Thus ends this adventure.*"[r] If we consider it under this point of view, we shall easily conceive that it is essential to express the circumstances which render the narrative more interesting, and the catastrophe more calamitous; and it is still more so to make every thing understood rather than to say every thing. This is the manner of Homer. He does not give the detail of the sentiments which unite Achilles and Patroclus; but at the death of the latter they are manifested by torrents of tears, and burst on the reader like thunder.

[i] Euripid. in Alcest. [k] Id. in Orest. [l] Id. in Phœniss. [m] Soph. in Philoct. et in Ajac. [n] Euripid. in Med. [o] Æschyl. in Agamem. [p] Aristot. de Mor. Id. de Rhet. [q] Id. de Poet. c. 6. p. 657. [r] Euripid. in Alcest. v. 1163; in Androm. v. 1288; in Helen. v. 1708; in Med. v. 1419.

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Zopyrus. I shall always regret that the tenderest and most forcible of all the passions has hitherto been neglected. All the fires of love blaze in the heart of Phædra, but diffuse no warmth in the tragedy of Euripides.[s] Yet what a rich succession of scenes would the first birth of this love, its progress, agitations, and remorse, have presented to the pencil of the poet, and what new sources of interest in the part of the princess! We have spoken of the love of Hæmon for Antigone.[t] Why is not this sentiment made the principal motive of the action! What conflicts must it not have excited in the hearts of the father and of the two lovers! What various duties were there to respect,—what misfortunes to fear!

Theodectes. The paintings which you regret would be as dangerous to morals as unworthy of a theatre, which only attends to great events and elevated sentiments. Never in the heroic ages did love produce any of those revolutions which distinguish tragedy.

Zopyrus. Have you forgotten the war of Troy?

Theodectes. It was not the loss of Helen which armed the Greeks against the Trojans. Menelaus engaged in the war from the necessity of avenging a flagrant injury; and the other princes in consequence of the oath they had before taken to secure to him the possession of his queen.[u] They therefore beheld, in this perfidy of love, only insulted honour.

Love, properly, only presents little intrigues, the display of which we leave to comedy; and sighs,

[s] Eurip. in Hippol. [t] Soph. in Antig. [u] Eurip. in Iphig. in Aulid. v. 58.

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tears, and frailties, to express which is the province of the lyric poets. If at any time it exhibits more elevated traits of nobility and grandeur, it is indebted for them to vengeance, ambition, or jealousy; three powerful springs which we have never neglected to employ.

THIRD CONVERSATION.

In this were discussed the manners, thoughts, sentiments, and style, which are proper for tragedy.

In all imitative works, said Theodectes, but especially in the poem, whether epic or dramatic, what is called the manners is the exact conformity of the actions, sentiments, thoughts, and language, of the personage with his character. It is necessary, therefore, that, from the very first scenes, we should be able to discover, from what he does and what he says, the nature of his present inclinations, and his ultimate designs.[x]

The manners characterise the person in action.[y] They should be good. Far from exaggerating any defect, be careful to enfeeble it. Poetry, like painting, embellishes the portrait without neglecting the resemblance. Do not deform the character of a personage, not even a subaltern one, unless you are constrained. In a piece of Euripides,[z] Menelaus acts a reprehensible part, because he does evil without necessity.[a]

[x] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. p. 657; c. 15. p. 658. [y] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 656. [z] Eurip. in Orest. [a] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 15. p. 663.

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The manners must also be proper, resembling, and uniform; they must be suitable to the age and dignity of the person; they must not be contrary to the idea of the hero delivered down to us by ancient tradition; nor must they be inconsistent in any part of the piece.

Would you wish to give them boldness and lustre, contrast them with each other. Observe how, in Euripides, the character of Polynices is rendered interesting by that of Eteocles his brother;[b] and, in Sophocles, the character of Electra by that of Chrysothemis her sister.[c]

We ought, like the orators, to inspire our judges with pity, terror, or indignation; like them to demonstrate a truth or refute an objection, to aggrandise or diminish an object.[d] You will find the precepts necessary to attain this end in the treatises that have been published on rhetoric; and examples in the tragedies that are the ornaments of our theatres. In them we see beauty of thought and elevation of sentiment in all their lustre; in them triumph the language of truth, and the eloquence of the unfortunate. Behold Merope, Hecuba, Electra, Antigone, Ajax, Philoctetes, surrounded sometimes by the horrors of death, and sometimes plunged in shame or despair—listen to those accents of grief, those piercing exclamations, those passionate expressions, which, from one end of the theatre to the

[b] Eurip. in Phœniss. [c] Soph. in Electr. [d] Aristot. de Poet. c. 19. p. 667. Corneille, Discours i. p. 21.

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other, make the voice of Nature resound in every heart, and compel all eyes to dissolve in tears.

To what are these admirable effects to be ascribed? —to the art which our authors possess, in a sovereign degree, of placing their characters in the most moving situations, taking themselves their place in imaginations, and indulging without regard in the single and profound sentiment which the circumstances inspire.

You can never study too much our great models. Possess yourself perfectly of their beauties; but especially learn to judge of them aright, and let not a servile admiration induce you to reverence their errors. Fear not to condemn this reasoning of Jocasta:— Her two sons had agreed to ascend alternately the throne of Thebes; but, at the expiration of the time fixed, Eteocles refused to resign his authority; and, to induce him to make this important cession, the queen represents to him, among other things, that equality formerly instituted weights and measures, and has at all times regulated the periodical succession of days and nights.[e]

Sentences which are clear, precise, and naturally introduced, are greatly to the taste of the Athenians; but it is necessary to be attentive in the choice of them, as they reject with indignation the maxims which are destructive of morality.

Polus...And frequently without reason. It was imputed as a crime to Euripides, that he had put into

[e] Eurip. in Phœniss. p. 544.

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the mouth of Hippolytus these words: "My tongue has pronounced the oath, but my heart disavows it."[f] Yet they are suitable to the circumstances; and the enemies of the poet falsely accused him of intending them for a general principle. At another time the audience rose to drive from the stage the actor who performed the part of Bellerophon; and who, suitably to the spirit of the character, had said that riches are to be preferred to every thing else. The piece was on the point of being condemned, when Euripides came forward. He was ordered to expunge the line. He replied, that it was his part to give lessons to, and not to receive them from, the audience;[g] but that, if they would have the patience to wait, they would soon see Bellerophon undergo the punishment he had merited.[h] When his Ixion was acted, several persons, who were spectators, said to him, after the representation, that his hero was too vile a character. For which reason, answered he, I have concluded the piece by fastening him to a wheel.[i]

Though the style of tragedy be no longer so pompous as it formerly was,[k] it must nevertheless be suitable to the dignity of the ideas. Employ the charms of elocution to shade over improbabilities which you are forced to admit; but if you have thoughts to express, or characters to paint, beware

[f] Eurip. in Hippol. v. 612. Schol. ibid. Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 602. Cicer. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 29. t. iii. p. 289. [g] Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 7. Extern. N° 1. [h] Senec. Epist. 115. [i] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 19. [k] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 584. D.

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not to obscure them by superfluous ornaments.[l] Avoid mean expressions.[m] Each species of the drama has its particular style, and distinct colours;[n] and it is through ignorance of this rule that the language of Cleophon and Sthenelus approaches too near to that of comedy.[o]

Nicephorus. I can discover another cause: the species of composition you cultivate is so artificial, and ours so natural, that you are every moment forced to pass from the former to the latter, and borrow our thoughts, sentiments, pleasantries, and expressions. In proof of this I shall only cite the most respectable authorities, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, playing on words, and making insipid allusions to the names of their characters.[p] The second of these poets puts in the mouth of Ajax these extraordinary words: "Ai! ai! what a fatal conformity is there between the name which I bear and the misfortunes I experience!"[q*]

Theodectes. It was then a universal opinion that the names given us presage the destiny that awaits us;[r] and you know that in misfortune it is necessary to lay the blame on something as a cause.

[l] Aristot. de Poet. c. 24. p. 672. E. [m] Athen. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 158. Casaub. ibid. p. 180. [n] Quintil. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 650. [o] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 7. t. ii. p. 590. Id. de Poet. c. 22. p. 669. [p] Æschyl. in Agam. v. 690. Eurip. in Phœn. v. 639. et 1500. Id. in Troad. v. 990. Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 23. t. ii. p. 579. [q] Soph. in Ajac. v. 430. * *Ai* is the beginning of the name Ajax, which the Greeks pronounced Aias, and is also an interjectional exclamation of grief. [r] Soph. ibid. v. 926. Euripid. in Bacch. v. 508.

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Nicephorus. But how is it possible to excuse in your authors their fondness for false etymologies, and a play on words;[s] their frigid metaphors,[t] insipid pleasantries,[u] and indecent images;[x] their sarcasms against women,[y] the intermixture of low comedy in their scenes,[z] and those frequent examples of unpolished manners or disgusting familiarity?[a] What must we think, when, instead of being simply informed of the death of Deianira, we are told that she has just ended her last journey without making a single step?[b] Is it suitable to the dignity of tragedy that children should pour forth the grossest invective and ridicule on the authors of their being;[c] or that Antigone should assure us she would sacrifice a husband or a son to her brother, because she might have another son or another husband,—but, having lost her parents, she never could have another brother?[d]

I am not surprised at seeing Aristophanes cursorily glance a satirical stroke at the means by which Æschylus has brought about the discovery of Orestes and Electra;[e] but ought Euripides to have parodied and

[s] Æschyl. in Pers. v. 769. Euripid. ibid. v. 367. [t] Hermog. de Form. Orat. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 285. [u] Soph. ibid. v 1146. [x] Euripid. in Hecub. v. 570. Soph. in Trachin. v. 31. Hermog. de Invent. lib. 4. c. 12. p. 227. [y] Eurip. in Hippol. v. 616; in Androm. v. 85. [z] Eurip. in Orest. v. 1506. Æschyl. in Agam. v. 864 et 924. [a] Soph. in Antig. v. 325 et 567. Euripid. in Alcest. v. 750, &c. [b] Soph. in Trach. v. 888. [c] Euripid. in Alcest. v. 629. Soph. in Antig. v. 746 et 752. [d] Soph. in Antig. v. 921. Aristot. Rhet. lib. 3. c. 16. t. ii. p. 603. [e] Æschyl. in Chœph. v. 223. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 534. Schol. ibid.

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turned this same incident into ridicule in the manner he has done ? [f]—I appeal to the opinion of Polus.

Polus. I confess that I have more than once been ready to imagine I was acting comedy in the tragic mask. To the examples you have just produced, permit me to add two others from Sophocles and Euripides.

The former, having taken for the subject of one of his tragedies the metamorphosis of Tereus and Procne, indulges in several pleasantries against that prince, who, as well as Procne, appears under the form of a bird.[g]

The latter, in one of his pieces, introduces a shepherd who believes he has somewhere seen the name of Theseus. He is questioned concerning it. " I cannot read," replies he ; " but I will describe the form of the letters. The first is a ring with a dot in the middle ;* the second is made by two upright lines, joined with a cross line :" and so he proceeds with the rest. Observe that this enigmatical description of the name of Theseus had such success, that Agatho, soon after, gave a second, which he no doubt believed to be more elegant.[h]

Theodectes. I scarcely dare to confess that I shall risk a third in a tragedy which I am preparing.[k] This species of wit pleases the multitude ; and as we

[f] Euripid. in Electr. v. 520. [g] Aristoph. in Av. v. 100. Schol. ibid. * Euripides in this piece described the form of the six Greek letters which compose the name Theseus, ΘΗΣΕΥΣ. [h] Eurip. in Thes. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 20. p. 454. [k] Athen. ibid.

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cannot bring them to our taste, we must accommodate our works to theirs. Our best writers have been subjected to this yoke, and the faults you have just pointed out clearly prove they were unable to shake it off. There are other faults which may be excused. By taking their scenes in the heroic ages, they have been forced to paint manners different from those of the present times; and while they wished to approach nature, they were obliged to pass from the simple to the familiar, the limits of which are not sufficiently distinct. With less genius, we are exposed to still greater risks. The art is become more difficult. On the one hand, the public, satiated with the beauties to which it has long been accustomed, absurdly requires that an author should unite the abilities of all the writers who have preceded him:[1] and, on the other, the actors incessantly complain that they have not parts sufficiently brilliant. They compel us sometimes to extend and do violence to the subject, and sometimes to destroy the connection of the parts.[m] Frequently their negligence and want of ability are sufficient to cause a piece to fail. Polus will pardon me this censure: to venture it in his presence, is to pronounce his eulogium.

Polus. I am entirely of your opinion, and shall relate to Zopyrus the danger to which the Orestes of Euripides was formerly exposed. In that beautiful scene in which the young prince, after a fit of madness, recovers his reason, the actor Hegelochus, not

[1] Aristot. de Poet. c. 18. p. 666. [m] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 659.

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having properly managed his breath, was obliged to separate two words which, according as they are pronounced with an elision or not, give two very different meanings; so that instead of saying, *After the storm I see a calm;* he said, *After the storm I see a cat.** You may easily judge of the effect produced by such a mistake in this interesting moment: it excited loud bursts of laughter among the audience, and gave occasion to many sarcastic epigrams on the poet and the actor.[n]

FOURTH CONVERSATION.

In the fourth conversation were discussed some articles which had not before been considered. It was observed—1. That in almost all the scenes, the answers and replies are made from verse to verse,[o] which renders the dialogue extremely pretty and concise, but sometimes not quite so natural. 2. That the whole part of Pylades is only three lines in a piece of Æschylus,[p] and not one in the Electra of Sophocles, nor in that of Euripides; that other persons of the drama, though present, continue silent through several scenes, either from excess of grief or haughtiness of character.[q] 3. That allegorical personages are sometimes introduced, as Strength, Force,[r] Death,[s] and Phrensy.[t] 4. That the choruses of Sophocles

* See note XIV. at the end of the volume. [n] Euripid. in Orest. v. 279. Schol. ibid. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 306. Schol. ibid. [o] Poll. lib. 4. c. 17. § 113. Æschyl. Euripid. Sophocl. passim. [p] Æschyl. in Chœph. v. 900. [q] Schol. Æschyl. in Prom. v. 435. Hecub. ap. Eurip. v. 486. [r] Æschyl. in Prom. [s] Euripid. in Alcest. [t] Id. in Herc. Fur.

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make a part of the action; but that the greater number of those of Euripides are but slightly connected with it; that those of Agatho are entirely detached; and that, after the example of this latter poet, no scruple is at present made to insert in the interludes fragments of poetry and music, which make us lose sight at the subject.[u]

After the company had declared against these abuses, I asked whether tragedy might be considered as having attained to perfection. All exclaimed, at once, that certain pieces would leave nothing more to wish, if they were freed from the blemishes by which they were disfigured, and which were not inherent in their construction. But, as I reminded them that Aristotle had hesitated with respect to this question,[x] it was examined attentively, and doubts began to multiply.

Some maintained that the theatre is too spacious, and the number of spectators too considerable; from which, said they, two inconveniences arise. Authors are obliged to comply with the taste of an ignorant multitude; and the actors to exhaust themselves by straining their voices, though still they are in danger of not being heard by a part of the assembly. It was therefore proposed, that the theatre should be made less, and the price of the places raised, that they might only be filled by persons of the better class. But to this it was replied, that such a project could neither be reconciled to the nature nor the interests of the government. It is only, added they, for the

[u] Aristot. de Poet. c. 18. t. ii. p. 666. [x] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 655.

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multitude and foreigners that our theatrical exhibitions are celebrated with such magnificence. The plan now suggested would, on the one hand, destroy that equality which ought to subsist among the citizens; and, on the other, deprive us of those sums of money which strangers expend in this city during our festivals.

The objectors answered: Why should not the choruses and the music be suppressed, as has been begun to be done in comedy? The chorus compels authors continually to offend against probability. The personages of the piece must be brought, by force or consent, to the vestibule of a palace, or some other open place, to reveal their most important secrets, or discourse on affairs of state in the presence of a number of witnesses frequently assembled there without any motive. There must Medea publish the fearful mischiefs she meditates, and Phædra declare a passion which she wishes to conceal even from herself. Alcestis, when dying, must cause herself to be conveyed thither to render up her last breath. As to the music, it is absurd to suppose that men overwhelmed with grief should act, speak, and even die, singing.

Without the chorus, replied their opponents, there would no longer be any motion on the theatre, or majesty in the spectacle. It increases the interest during the scenes, and preserves it during the interludes. They added, that the people would never consent to give up the charms of the music; and that to adopt the proposed change would be to destroy the nature of tragedy.

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Let us beware, said Nicephorus, not to despoil it of its ornaments; it would lose too much. But let us at least give it a more noble purpose; and, after the example of comedy——

Theodectes. Let it make us laugh?

Nicephorus. No; but let it instruct us.

Theodectes. And who will dare to say it does not? Is not the soundest morality inculcated by the maxims contained in our tragedies?

Nicephorus. But is it not continually contradicted by the action itself? Hippolytus, informed of the love of Phædra,[y] thinks himself polluted by the horrible secret, and yet nevertheless he perishes. What a fatal lesson for youth! It was in consequence of the example of the comic writers that you formerly undertook to display the vices of the administration. But how different was your mode from urs! We loaded with ridicule the guilty orators of the state, which you heavily dwelt on the abuses of eloquence.[z] We sometimes told the Athenians harsh but salutary truths; you flattered them, and still continue to flatter them, with an effrontery at which you ought to blush.[a]

Theodectes. By cherishing their hatred against despotism, we attach them to the democracy; by exhibiting to them the piety, beneficence, and other virtues of their ancestors, we place before them models for their imitation; we nourish their vanity,

[y] Eurip. in Hipp. v. 655. [z] Id. in Orest. v. 905. Valck. Distrib. in Euripid. c. 23. p. 250. [a] Euripid. in Helen. in Heracl.

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to inspire them with a sense of honour. There is no subject which does not teach them to support their misfortunes, and to guard against the errors by which they may be brought on them.

Nicephorus. I should agree with you, if the instruction were derived from the essence of the action itself; if you banished from the stage those calamities which are hereditary in a family; if man were never represented culpable without being criminal, nor unfortunate but by the abuse of his passions; if the villain were always punished, and the virtuous man constantly rewarded.

But, so long as you shall be enslaved by your forms expect nothing from your efforts. It is necessary either to correct the vicious ground-work of your scandalous histories, or to employ your talents, as you have sometimes done, on subjects which are the offspring of your imagination. I know not whether the plans of such works should be susceptible of more learned combinations; but I know well that their morality might be rendered more pure and instructive.

All who were present applauded this idea, without even excepting Theodectes, who nevertheless constantly maintained that, in the present state of things, tragedy had as beneficial an influence on manners as comedy. Disciple of Plato, said Polus, turning to me, what would your master, and the great sage of whom he was a scholar, have thought of the dispute that has arisen between Theodectes and Nicephorus? I answered that they would have condemned the pre-

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tensions of both; and that the philosophers could not see without indignation that mass of obscenities and personalities which polluted the ancient comedy.

Let us recollect, replied Nicephorus, the circumstances of the times. Pericles had imposed silence on the Areopagus; manners would have had no resource, if our authors had not had the courage to exercise the public censure.

There is no courage, replied I, in being malevolent, when malevolence is certain to pass unpunished. Let us compare the two tribunals of which you have spoken. I behold, in that of the Areopagus, upright, virtuous, and discreet judges, who regret to find the accused guilty, and do not punish him till he is convicted: in the other, I see writers who are passionate, furious, and sometimes suborned; every where seeking victims to immolate to the public malignity; imagining crimes, exaggerating vices; and offering the most cruel injury to virtue, by lavishing the same invectives against the villain and the virtuous man.

What a strange reformer was that Aristophanes, who of all the comic poets possessed the most wit and genius, was best acquainted with the true style of humour, and most indulged in a ferocious pleasantry! It has been said that he only composed his works in the delirium of intoxication;[b] but it was rather in that of hatred and revenge. If his enemies are exempt from vices, he attacks them on their birth, their poverty, or their personal defects. How many

[b] Athen. lib. 10. c. 7. p. 429.

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times did he not reproach Euripides with being the son of a woman who sold herbs![c] He possessed the qualities requisite to give pleasure to persons of merit; but many of his pieces seem only designed to please those who are addicted to every kind of debauchery, and sunk in the blackest infamy.[d]

Nicephorus. I renounce Aristophanes when his pleasantries degenerate into licentious satire; but I admire him when, penetrated with a sense of the evils that have befallen his country, he attacks those who have misled it by their counsels;[e] and when, with this view, he spares neither the orators, the generals, the senate, nor the multitude itself. From this he derived renown which extended into distant countries. The king of Persia said to the embassadors from Lacedæmon, that the Athenians would soon be masters of Greece if they would only follow the advice of that poet.[f]

Anacharsis. But of what importance is the testimony of the king of Persia? or what confidence can an author merit, who knows not, or pretends not to know, that guilt is not to be attacked by ridicule,[g] and that a portrait ceases to be odious as soon as it is exhibited with burlesque features? We do not laugh at the sight of a tyrant or a villain; nor ought we to laugh at his image, under whatever form it may be presented. Aristophanes painted in strong

[c] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 19. Id. in Acharn. v. 477. [d] Id. in Equit. v. 1275. Plut. in Compar. Aristoph. t. ii. p. 854. [e] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 698. [f] Id. in Acharn. v. 646. [g] Cicer. Orat. c. 26. t. i. p. 441. Plut. de Adul. et Amic. t. ii. p. 68.

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colours the insolence and rapine of Cleon, whom he hated, and who was at the head of the republic; but gross and disgusting buffooneries in a moment destroyed all the effect of his portrait. Cleon, in some scenes of the most farcical kind, overcome by a man of the dregs of the people, who disputes with him and carries off the palm of impudence, was too grossly degraded to be rendered contemptible. What was the consequence? The multitude laughed at his expense; as, in other pieces of the same author, they had laughed at the expense of Hercules and Bacchus; but when they left the theatre, they ran to prostrate themselves before Bacchus, Hercules, and Cleon.

The sarcasms of the poet on the Athenians, though not of more effectual utility, were more moderate. Besides that such a kind of licence was easily pardoned, when it did not attack the established constitution, Aristophanes accompanied his satire with artful correctives. This people, said he, act without reflection or consistency; they are severe, choleric,[h] and insatiably greedy of praise. In their assemblies they resemble an old man who understands with half a word,[i] yet suffers himself to be led like a child who is enticed by a cake; but in every other place they abound in wit and good sense.[k] They know when they are deceived, and patiently bear with imposition for some time; but at length rectify their error, and punish those who have abused their goodness.[l] The

[h] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 40. [i] Id. ibid. v. 46. [k] Id. ibid. v. 750. [l] Id. ibid. v. 1122 et 1352.

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old man, flattered by the eulogium, laughed at his faults; and, after having derided his gods, his rulers, and himself, continued to be, as he had been before, superstitious, a dupe, and fickle.

An exhibition so full of indecency and malignity could not but give offence to the wisest and most enlightened persons of the republic. They were so far from considering it as the support of manners, that Socrates would never be present at the performance of comedies,[m] and that the law forbade the Areopagites to compose any.[n]

Here Theodectes exclaimed, The cause is ended; and immediately arose. Stay, cried Nicephorus; we now proceed to a decision on your authors. What should I fear? said Theodectes. Socrates saw with pleasure the pieces of Euripides;[o] he esteemed Sophocles;[p] and we have always been on good terms with the philosophers. As I sat next him, I said to him, in a whisper, You are very generous. He smiled, and made another attempt to withdraw, but was prevented; and I saw myself obliged to continue my discourse, which I addressed to Theodectes.

Socrates and Plato rendered justice to the talents, as well as to the probity, of your best writers; but they accused them of having, after the example of the other poets, degraded the gods and heroes. On the first head, in fact, you will not venture to vindicate them. All virtue, all morality, is destroyed, when the objects of public worship, more vicious, unjust,

[m] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 13. [n] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348. [o] Ælian. ibid. [p] Socr. ap. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 725.

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and cruel even than men, spread snares for innocence to render it miserable; and impel to guilt, that they may inflict punishment. Comedy, which exposes such divinities to public ridicule, is less deserving censure than tragedy, which presents them to our veneration.

Zopyrus. It would be easy to bestow on them a more august character. But what can be added to that of the heroes of Æschylus and Sophocles?

Anacharsis. A grandeur more real and constant. I shall endeavour to explain my idea. When we observe the changes that have taken place among you since your civilisation, we seem to distinguish three kinds of men which have only general relations to each other: the man of nature, such as he still appeared in the heroic ages; the man of art, such as he at present is; and the man which philosophy has, for some time past, undertaken to form.

The first, without refinement or fiction, but carrying both his virtues and his frailties to excess, has no fixed measure: he is too great or too little. This is the man of tragedy.

The second, having lost the noble and generous features which distinguish the former, no longer knows either what he is or what he wishes to be. We behold in him only a ridiculous assemblage of forms which attach him more to appearance than reality; and dissimulation so frequently repeated, that he seems to borrow even the qualities which he possesses. His whole resource is to act comedy; and he is, in his turn, made the object of comedy.

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The third is modelled after new proportions. His reason preserves a superiority over his passions, and gives him a vigorous and uniform character. He follows, unmoved, the course of events, and permits them not to drag him bound like a vile slave. He is unable to determine whether the calamities of life are to be considered as a good or an evil; he only knows that they are a consequence of that general order to which it is his duty to contribute. His enjoyments are not followed by remorse; he finishes his course in silence, and beholds death slowly advance without dismay.

Zopyrus. But does he not feel a keen affliction when he is deprived of a father, a son, a wife, or a friend?

Anacharsis. He feels a natural pang: but, faithful to his principles, he resists his grief,[q] and neither in public nor private suffers tears and fruitless exclamations to escape him.

Zopyrus. These tears and exclamations would give ease to his heart.

Anacharsis. They would render it effeminate. His passions would once have obtained the mastery, and would dispose him to be still more subjected to them in future. Observe, in fact, that his soul is, as it were, divided into two parts:[r] the one, ever in motion, and ever requiring to be impassioned, prefers the lively attacks of grief to the insupportable torment of rest; the other is only employed to curb the impetuosity

[q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 603. [r] Id. ibid. p. 605, 606.

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of the former, and to procure a calm which the tumult of the senses and the passions may be unable to disturb. But it is not this system of internal peace which the tragic authors wish to establish. They will not choose for their principal character a wise man ever consistent with himself: such a character would be too difficult to imitate, and would not make a forcible impression on the multitude. They address themselves to the more sensible and blind part of the soul, which they agitate and torment; and, filling it with terror and pity, compel it to satiate itself with tears and complaints, for which it has, if I may so speak, an eager appetite.[s]

What indeed can we hereafter hope from a man who from his infancy has been continually exercised in fears and pusillanimity? How may he be induced to imagine that it is cowardice to sink beneath misfortunes, when he continually beholds Hercules and Achilles give vent to their grief with cries, complaints, and groans; and when he every day sees a whole people honour with their tears the state of degradation to which calamity has reduced those heroes who were before invincible?[t]

No; philosophy can never be reconciled with tragedy: the one continually destroys the work of the other. The former exclaims to the unfortunate in a stern tone: Meet the tempest with a serene brow: remain erect and tranquil amid the ruins

[s] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 606. [t] Id. ibid. p. 605.

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which beat upon thee on all sides; reverence the hand which crushes thee, and suffer without a murmur: such is the law of wisdom.[u] Tragedy, with a more moving and persuasive voice, cries to him in her turn: Solicit consolations, rend your garments, roll yourself in the dust, weep, and give the most plaintive utterance to your grief; for such is the law of nature.

Nicephorus triumphed: he concluded from these reflections, that comedy, by being improved, might approach nearer to philosophy, and that tragedy must depart from it still more. A malicious smile, that escaped him at the moment, so irritated young Zopyrus, that, suddenly passing the bounds of moderation, he said that I had only given the sentiments of Plato, and that his chimerical ideas ought not to have more authority than the enlightened judgment of the Athenians, and especially of the Athenian ladies, who have always preferred tragedy to comedy.[x] He proceeded to inveigh against a drama, which, after the efforts of two centuries, was not yet purified from its original vices. I am acquainted, said he to Nicephorus, with your most celebrated writers; and have just read, a second time, all the pieces of Aristophanes, except that entitled The Birds, the subject of which disgusted me in the very first scenes. I maintain it is unworthy of the reputation he has acquired. Without mentioning the offensive and acrimonious wit, and the infamous malignity, with

[u] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 604. [x] Ulpian. in Demosth. p. 681. Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 658.

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which his writings abound, how are they filled with obscure thoughts and insipid puns, and how unequal is their style![y]

But let me add, said Theodectes, interrupting him, how elegant, how pure, is his diction! how acute are his pleasantries! what truth, what warmth in his dialogue; what poetry in his choruses!—Young man, do not become supercilious to appear judicious; and remember, that to attach ourselves in preference to the extravagance of genius, frequently only shows a vice in the heart, or a defect in the mind. Because a great man does not admire every thing, it will not follow that he who admires nothing is a great man. These authors, whose merits you estimate before you have considered your own, abound in defects and beauties that resemble the irregularities of Nature, which, notwithstanding the imperfections our ignorance may discover in her works, appears not less great to attentive eyes.

Aristophanes well understood that species of raillery which in his age was pleasing to the Athenians, and that which must please in every age. His writings contain within them the germ of true comedy, and the models of the best comic style, and can only be surpassed by the poet who has an intimate feeling of their beauties.[z] Of this you would have been convinced by the perusal of the allegorical piece you mentioned, had you had patience to finish it; for it abounds with original strokes.—Permit me to give

[y] Plut. in Compar. Aristoph. et Menand. t. ii. p. 853 & 854.
[z] Schol. Vit. Aristoph. in Proleg. p. xiv.

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you a slight idea of some of the scenes which it contains.

Pisthetærus and another Athenian, to avoid the law-suits and dissensions which gave them a disgust for Athens, retire to the regions of the birds, and persuade them to build a city in the midst of the air. The first labours are to be accompanied by the sacrifice of a goat; but the ceremonies are interrupted by several troublesome persons, who arrive successively to seek their fortune in the new city. The first of these is a poet, who sings these words :[a] Celebrate, Muse, celebrate the fortunate Nephelococcygiæ.* Pisthetærus asks him his name, and from what country he comes. I am, answers he, to borrow the expression of Homer, the humble servant of the Muses; my lips distil the honey of harmony.

Pisthetærus. What brings you hither?

The Poet. The rival of Simonides, I have composed sacred songs of every kind, for all ceremonies, and all in honour of this new city, which I will never cease to sing. O Father! O founder of Ætna! cause to flow on me the source of the blessings which I wish to accumulate on your head. (*This is a parody of some verses which Pindar had addressed to Hiero king of Syracuse.*)

Pisthetærus. This fellow will torment me till I give him something. Hark you (*To his slave*): Give

[a] Aristoph. in Av. v. 905. * This is the name given to the new city. It signifies the city of the birds in the region of the clouds.

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him your cloak, but not your coat. (*To the Poet*) Take this garment; you seem half dead with cold!

The Poet. My Muse receives your gift with gratitude.—Now listen to these verses of Pindar. (*Then follows another parody, in which he asks for the slave's coat. He at length obtains it, and goes off singing.*)

Pisthetærus. At last I am happily delivered from the frigidity of his verses. Who would have thought that such a plague would have been introduced among us so soon? [b] But let us finish our sacrifice.

Priest. Keep silence.

(*Enter a Soothsayer, with a book in his hand.*)

Soothsayer. Touch not the victim.

Pisthetærus. Why, who are you?

Soothsayer. An interpreter of oracles.

Pisthetærus. So much the worse for you.

Soothsayer. Beware, and reverence sacred things. I bring you an oracle of importance to this new city.

Pisthetærus. You should have brought it me sooner.

Soothsayer. The gods did not permit.

Pisthetærus. Well, what does it say?

Soothsayer. "When the wolves shall dwell with the crows in the plain which separate Sicyon from Corinth."*——

Pisthetærus. What are the Corinthians to me?

Soothsayer. It is a mysterious image. The oracle thus describes the aërial region in which we are. But

[b] Aristoph. in Av. v. 957. * There was a celebrated oracle which began with these words. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 969.

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hear what follows: You shall sacrifice a he-goat to the Earth, and give to him who shall first explain to you our will an elegant robe and a new pair of shoes.

Pisthetærus. What! are the shoes mentioned in the oracle?

Soothsayer. There, read. (*He continues reading.*) Also a flagon of wine, and a portion of the entrails of the victim.

Pisthetærus. Are the entrails there too?

Soothsayer. Read, read.—If you perform my commands, you shall be as much exalted above mortals as the eagle is above other birds.

Pisthetærus. Is that there too?

Soothsayer. Read, read.

Pisthetærus. I have in my tablets an oracle which I have received from Apollo. It differs a little from yours: it runs thus: When any one without being invited, shall have the impudence to come among you, disturb you when sacrificing, and demand a portion of the victim, you shall not fail to cudgel him well.

Soothsayer. You jest, surely!

Pisthetærus (*presenting him his tablets.*) There, read. Were he an eagle, were he one of the most illustrious impostors of Athens, strike, and spare him not.

Soothsayer. Is that there too?

Pisthetærus. Read, read.—Begone, and carry your oracles elsewhere.

No sooner is he gone than the astronomer Meton appears, who, with his rule and compasses in his hand,

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proposes to lay out the new city, and talks in a ridiculous manner. Pisthetærus advises him to retire, and employs blows to compel him. At present, as the merit of Meton is generally acknowledged, this scene reflects more disgrace on the poet than on him.

He is followed by one of those inspectors who are sent by the republics to the states from which they exact tribute and expect presents. As he comes on he is heard exclaiming: Where are those who are to receive me?[c]

Pisthetærus. Who is this Sardanapalus?

Inspector. I am appointed by lot to the inspection of the new city.

Pisthetærus. Who have appointed you?

Inspector. The people of Athens.

Pisthetærus. We have no need of your services here: we will however give you something, and you shall return whence you came.

Inspector. By the gods, I have no objection! for I must be at the next general assembly, which is to meet to consider of a negociation that I have opened with Pharnaces, one of the satraps of the king of Persia.

Pisthetærus (*beating him*). There, there; that is what I promised you—Now begone instantly.

Inspector. What do you mean?

Pisthetærus. That is the decision of the assembly on the affair of Pharnaces.

Inspector. What! do you dare to strike an inspector? Here, witnesses, witnesses! (*Exit.*)

[c] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1022.

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Pisthetærus. Is it not intolerable! We have scarcely begun to build our city, and already we are plagued with inspectors.

(*Enter a Crier of Edicts.*)

Crier of Edicts. If any inhabitant of the new city shall insult an Athenian——

Pisthetærus. What does this fellow want, with his scraps of paper?

Crier of Edicts. I cry the edicts of the senate and people. I have brought you some new ones. Who will buy any edicts?

Pisthetærus. What do they enact?

Crier of Edicts. That you shall conform to our weights, measures, and decrees.

Pisthetærus. Stay; I will show you those which we sometimes make use of. (*He beats him.*)

Crier of Edicts. What do you mean?

Pisthetærus. If you do not take yourself and your decrees away instantly——

(*Re-enter the Inspector.*)

Inspector. I summon Pisthetærus to appear before a court of justice, to answer for injuries and insults——

Pisthetærus. What! are you there again?

(*Re-enter the Crier of Edicts.*)

Crier of Edicts. If any one shall drive away our magistrates, instead of receiving them with the honours which are their due——

Pisthetærus. And you too!

Inspector. You shall be fined a thousand drachmas. (*They go off and re-enter several times; Pisthetærus*

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pursues sometimes one and sometimes the other, and at length drives them both off the stage.)

If we besides consider how much the humour of this extract was heightened by the performance of the actors, we shall not hesitate to admit that the true secret of making the multitude laugh, and men of wit and understanding smile, has long been known; and that it only remains to apply it to the different kinds of the ridiculous. Our authors have been born in an age peculiarly favourable to this species of composition. Never were there so many avaricious fathers and spendthrift sons; so many fortunes ruined by a passion for play, law-suits, and courtesans; nor ever, in fine, such a variety of arrogant pretensions, in every condition of life; nor such exaggeration in ideas, sentiments, and even in vices.

It is only among a rich and enlightened people, like that of Athens and Syracuse, that comedy can take birth and arrive at perfection. The former have indeed a decided advantage over the latter; their dialect is better adapted to this species of drama than that of the Syracusans, which has in it somewhat of the emphatical.[d]

Nicephorus appeared moved by the praises that Theodectes had bestowed on the ancient comedy. I wish, said he to him, that I possessed sufficient abilities to render to the masterly dramas of your stage the eulogium which is their due. I have ventured to point out some of their defects, for their beauties were

[d] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 181.

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not then the subject under consideration. But now that the question is, whether tragedy be susceptible of new improvements, I shall give my opinion more explicitly. With respect to the constitution of the fable, art more profoundly investigated may perhaps discover means that were unknown to the earlier authors; because we cannot assign limits to art; but never will it be possible to pourtray more forcibly and accurately the feelings of nature, because nature has not two languages.

This opinion was assented to unanimously, and the conversation ended.

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CHAPTER LXXII.

Summary of a Voyage to the Coast of Asia and several of the neighbouring Islands.

PHILOTAS had, in the isle of Samos, possessions which required his presence. I proposed to him to set out before the time he intended; to go first to Chios, and thence to pass over to the continent, and make the tour of the Greek cities in Æölia, Iönia, and Doris; afterward to visit the islands of Rhodes and Crete, and take in our way back those situated near the coasts of Asia; as Astypalæa, Cos, and Patmos; and thence to proceed to Samos. The relation of this voyage would be much too long and tedious: I shall therefore only extract from my journal such particulars as appear to me suitable to the general plan of this work.

Apollodorus committed to our care his son Lysis, who had now finished his exercises. Several of our friends were desirous to accompany us, and, among others, Stratonicus, a celebrated player on the cithara; extremely amiable in his carriage to those for whom he had a friendship, but no less formidable to those for whom he had none; for his repartees, which were very frequent, were often exquisitely keen and satirical. He passed his life in travelling through the different

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countries of Greece,[e] and was then just arrived from the city of Ænos in Thrace. We asked him how he found the climate. "It is winter there," said he, "during four months in the year, and cold weather during the other eight."[f] In I know not what place, having promised to give public lectures on his art, he was attended by only two pupils. He taught in a hall in which were the statues of the nine Muses and Apollo. "How many scholars have you?" asked some person. "Twelve," replied he, "the gods included."[g]

The island of Chios, at which we first arrived, is one of the largest and most celebrated of the islands of the Ægean sea. Several chains of mountains, crowned with beautiful trees, form delicious valleys;[h] and the hills are in many places covered with vines, the grapes of which produce an excellent wine. That of a district named Arvisia is particularly esteemed.[i]

The inhabitants pretend to have taught other nations the art of cultivating the vine.[k] They indulge in good eating and drinking.[l] One day, when we dined at the house of one of the principal persons of the island, the conversation turned on the famous question of the country of Homer. Various cities

[e] Athen. lib. 8. c. 10. p. 350. E. [f] Id. ibid. p. 351. C. [g] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 348. D. [h] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 18. p. 265. Steph. in Χίος. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 371. Voyage de la Grèce, par M. le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier, c. 5. p. 87. [i] Strab. lib. 14. p. 645. Plin. lib. 14. c. 7. t. i. p. 722. Athen. lib. 1. p. 29 et 32. [k] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 26. [l] Athen. lib. 1. p. 25.

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and states aspire to the honour of having given birth to that celebrated man;[m] but the claims of all but Chios were rejected with contempt, and the latter warmly defended. Among other proofs of their validity, we were told that the descendants of Homer still remained in the island, and were known by the name of the Homeridæ.[n] At the same instant we saw two of them enter, habited in magnificent robes, and with golden crowns on their heads.[o] They did not rehearse the eulogium of the poet, but offered to him a more precious incense. After an invocation to Jupiter,[p] they sang, alternately, several select extracts from the Iliad, and performed their parts with such judgment and propriety, that we discovered new beauties in the passages that had before most excited our admiration.

This people had for some time been in possession of the empire of the sea;[q] but their power and riches became fatal to them. We must in justice acknowledge that, in the wars against the Persians, Lacedæmonians, and Athenians, they acted with the same prudence both in prosperous and adverse fortune;[r] but they are deserving censure for having introduced the custom of trafficking in slaves. The oracle, informed of their crime, declared, that it had drawn on them the anger of heaven;[s]—one of the noblest, but

[m] Allat. de Patr. Homer. c. 1. [n] Strab. lib. 14. p. 646. Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 144. Harpocr. in Ὁμηρίδ. [o] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530 et 535. [p] Pind. in Nem. 2. v. 1. Schol. ibid. [q] Strab. lib. 14. p. 645. [r] Thucyd. lib. 8. c. 24. [s] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 18. p. 265, 266. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 3. p. 1462. lin. 35.

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at the same time least regarded, answers which the gods have communicated to men.

From Chios we proceeded to Cyme in Æolia, and thence took our departure to visit the flourishing cities which bound the empire of the Persians on the side of the Ægean sea. But it will be proper to preface what I shall have to say concerning them with a few introductory remarks.

In the most ancient times the Greeks were divided into three great tribes, the Dorians, the Æolians, and the Ionians.[t] These names, it is said, were given them by the children of Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly. Two of his sons, Dorus and Æolus, and his grandson Ion, having settled in different districts of Greece, the people who had been civilised, or at least united in society, by the care of these strangers, esteemed it an honour to bear their names, in the same manner as the different schools of philosophy are distinguished by those of their founders.

The three great divisions I have here pointed out still remain distinct by differences more or less sensible. The Greek language presents us with three principal dialects, the Dorian, the Æolian, and the Ionian,[u] which have numberless subdivisions. The Dorian, which is spoken at Lacedæmon, in Argolis, at Rhodes, in Crete, Sicily, &c. is in all these places the foundation of particular idioms.[x] The same is true of Ionian.[y] As to the Æolian, it is frequently

[t] Heracl. Pont. ap. Athen. lib. 14. c. 5. p. 624. [u] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Georgr. Min. t. ii. p. 21. [x] Meurs. in Cret. c. 15. Mattair. Introd. in Græc. Dialect. p. vii. [y] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 142.

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confounded with the Doric; and as this union takes place also in other essential points, it is only between the Dorians and the Ionians that a kind of parallel can be drawn. This I shall not undertake to perform; I shall only make one general observation. The manners of the former have ever been severe; and the characteristics of their architecture, language, and poetry, are grandeur and simplicity. The latter more early made a progress in refinement; and all the works they produce are distinguished by elegance and taste.

A kind of mutual antipathy prevails between them;[z] perhaps because Lacedæmon holds the first place among the Doric states, and Athens among the Ionian;[a] or perhaps because it is impossible that men should be arranged in classes without a kind of hostile division. However this may be, the Dorians have acquired a character which every where commands more respect than that of the Ionians, who in some places blush to be called by that denomination.[b] This contempt, which the Athenians have never experienced, has greatly increased since the Ionians of Asia have suffered themselves to be enslaved, sometimes by individual tyrants, and sometimes by the barbarous nations.

About two centuries after the war of Troy, a colony of these Ionians settled on the coast of Asia, whence they had driven the ancient inhabitants.[c] A

[z] Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 80, 81. [a] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 56. [b] Id. ibid. c. 143. [c] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 28. Strab. lib. 14. p. 632. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 5. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 2. p. 525.

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short time before some Æolians had seized on the country to the north of Ionia,[d] and that which lies to the south had fallen into the hands of the Dorians.[e] These three districts form, on the sea-coast, a slip of land which, in a right line, may be about 1700 stadia,* in length, and about 460† broad at its greatest breadth. I do not include in this estimate the islands of Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, though they make a part of the three colonies.

The country which they occupied on the continent is renowned for its riches and beauty. Every where the coast is happily diversified by capes and bays, around which arise a number of towns and cities. Numerous rivers, some of which appear to multiply themselves by their frequent windings, carry plenty through the plains. Though the soil of Ionia is not equal in fertility to that of Æolia,[f] the former country enjoys a more serene sky and a more equal temperature than the latter.[g]

The Æolians possess, on the continent, eleven cities, the deputies of which assemble on certain occasions in that of Cyme.[h] The confederation of the Ionians is formed between twelve principal cities. Their deputies meet annually at a temple of Neptune, situate in a sacred grove, beneath Mount Mycale, at a small distance from Ephesus. After a sacrifice which the other Ionians are not permitted to be present at, and at which a young man of Priene

[d] Strab. lib. 13. p. 582; lib. 14. p. 632. [e] Prid. in Marm. Oxon. p. 385. * 64 leagues. † About 17 leagues and one third. [f] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 149. [g] Id. ibid. c. 142. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 533, 535. [h] Herodot. ibid. c. 149. 157.

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presides, the affairs of the province are deliberated on.[i] The Doric states assemble at the promontory Triopium; and the city of Cnidus, the isle of Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes, alone possess the right of sending deputies to them.[k]

Nearly in this manner was it that the general assemblies of the Asiatic Greeks were regulated in the earliest times. Tranquil in their new habitations, they cultivated in peace their fertile fields, and were invited by their situation to transport their commodities from coast to coast. Their commerce soon increased with their industry. They afterward were seen to settle in Egypt, to brave the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas, to build a city in Corsica, and to extend their navigation even to the island of Tartessus, beyond the Pillars of Hercules.[l]

Their first success had, however, attracted the attention of a nation too near to them not to be formidable. The kings of Lydia, of which Sardes was the capital, seized on some of their cities:[m] Crœsus conquered them all, and imposed on them a tribute.[n] Cyrus, before he attacked the latter prince, proposed to them to join their arms to his, which they refused.[o] After his victory, he disdained to receive their submis-

[i] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 143. 148. 170. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384; lib. 14. page 639. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. page 364. [k] Herodot. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 144. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 4. § 25. t. ii. p. 702. [l] Herodot. ibid. c. 163. 165; lib. 2. c. 178; lib. 3. cap. 26; lib. 4. cap. 152. Strab. lib. 7. p. 801. [m] Herodot. ibid. c. 14, 15, 16. [n] Id. ibid. c. 6 et 27. [o] Id. ibid. c. 75.

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sion, and ordered one of his generals to march against them, who added them to the Persian empire by right of conquest.[p]

Under Darius, son of Hystaspes, they revolted:[q] and soon after, supported by the Athenians, burned the city of Sardis, and kindled between the Persians and the Greeks that fatal hatred which torrents of blood have not yet extinguished. Subjugated a second time by the former,[r] who compelled them to furnish them with ships against the latter,[s] they shook off their yoke after the battle of Mycale.[t] During the Peloponnesian war, they were sometimes in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, but more frequently with the Athenians, to whom they at length became subject.[u] Some years after, the peace of Antalcidas restored them for ever to their ancient masters.

Thus, during about two centuries, the Greeks of Asia were only occupied in wearing, breaking, and resuming their chains. Peace was to them what it is to all civilised states, a slumber which, for a short time, suspends their labours. In the course of these calamitous revolutions, some cities made an obstinate resistance against their enemies, and others exhibited the noblest examples of courage. The inhabitants of Teos and Phoceæ abandoned the tombs of their fathers; the former removed to Abdera in Thrace, and a part of the latter, after having long wandered

[p] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 141. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 16.
[q] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 98. [r] Id. lib. 6. c. 32; lib. 7. cap. 9.
[s] Id. lib. 8. c. 85. 90. [t] Id. lib. 9. c. 104. [u] Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 76, 77.

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on the waves, laid the foundations of the cities of Elea in Italy[x] and Marseilles in Gaul.

The descendants of those who submitted to remain in subjection to Persia paid to that empire the tribute which Darius had imposed on their ancestors.[y] In the general division which that prince made of all the provinces of his empire, Æolia, Ionia, and Doris, joined to Pamphylia, Lycia, and other countries, were taxed in perpetuity at four hundred talents* —a sum which will not appear exorbitant, if we consider the extent, fertility, and commerce of these countries. As the levying of this impost occasioned various disputes between the different cities, and between individuals, Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, having caused the lands on which it was assessed to be measured, in parasangs,† procured a proportional table of the sums to be paid by each contributor to be drawn up, to which he obtained the consent of the several deputies, in order to prevent any future contention.[z]

We perceive from this example that the court of Susa was desirous to retain the Greeks, its subjects, in submission rather than in servitude; it had even left them their laws, their religion, their festivals, and their provincial assemblies. But, by a false policy, the sovereign frequently granted the domain, at least

[x] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 164. 168. [y] Id. ibid. c. 6. 27. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 501. [z] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 90. * About 2,500,000 livres. (104,166*l.*) † That is to say in square parasangs. The parasang was equal to 2268 toises (2 miles 6 furlongs.) [a] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 42.

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the administration of the government; of a Greek city to one of its citizens, who, after having engaged for the fidelity of his countrymen, excited them to revolt, or exercised over them an absolute authority.[b] They were then at once exposed to the arrogance of the governor-general of the province, and the oppressions of particular governors whom he protected; and, as they were too far removed from the centre of the empire, their complaints rarely reached the foot of the throne. In vain was it that even Mardonius, who commanded the Persian army under Xerxes, endeavoured to restore the constitution to its original principles. Having obtained the government of Sardes, he re-established the democracy in the cities of Iönia, and expelled the subaltern tyrants;[c] but they soon returned,[d] because the successors of Darius, wishing to bestow rewards on their flatterers, found no mode of doing this so easy as that of abandoning to them the pillage of a distant city. At present such grants are more rarely conferred; but the Asiatic Greeks, enervated by pleasure, have every where suffered the oligarchy to become established on the ruins of the popular government.[e]

If we consider with proper attention the circumstances in which they were situated, we shall be convinced that it was impossible they should preserve complete liberty. The kingdom of Lydia, which after-

[b] Herodot. lib. 4. p. 137, 138; lib. 5. 27. Aristot. de Rep. c. 2. lib. 5. c. 10. t. ii. p. 402. Id. Cur. Rei. Famil. t. ii. p. 504. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 3. [c] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 43. [d] Id. lib. 7. c. 85. [e] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. 1. p. 38.

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ward became one of the provinces of the Persian empire, had for its natural boundary the Ægean Sea, the shores of which are peopled by Greek colonies. They occupy so narrow a space, that they must necessarily fall into the hands of the Lydians and Persians, unless they took proper measures for their defence. But by a defect which also subsists among the confederate republics of the continent of Greece, not only Æolia, Iönia, and Doris, when threatened with invasion, did not unite their forces, but in each of the three provinces the decrees of the general assembly were not obligatory on all the states of the deputies of which it was composed. Thus we see, in the time of Cyrus, the inhabitants of Miletus made a separate peace with that prince, and delivered up the other cities to the fury of their enemies.[f]

When Greece consented to take arms in their defence, she drew on herself the innumerable armies of the Persians; and, but for prodigies of chance and valour, must have sunk beneath a foreign yoke. If, after disastrous wars, repeated through a whole century, she has at last renounced the ill-fated project of breaking the chains of the Iönians, it is because she has at length been convinced that their situation and circumstances oppose invincible obstacles to their emancipation. This the sage Bias of Priene expressly declared when Cyrus had rendered himself master of Lydia, "Stay not here," said he to the Iönians, "to sink into an ignominious slavery; em-

[f] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 141. 169.

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barbarous lords, your ships, traverse the seas, and take possession of Sardinia and the neighbouring islands, where you may still enjoy liberty and peace."[g]

Twice have these people had it in their power to throw off the Persian yoke, once by following the counsel of Bias, and a second time by accepting the proposals of the Lacedæmonians, who after the termination of the Median war, offered to convey them back into Greece;[h] but they have always refused to forsake their habitations; and, if we may judge from their population and their riches, independence was not necessary to their happiness.

I return to the narrative of my travels, from which I have too long digressed. We made the tour of the three Greek provinces of Asia; but, as I have said above, I shall confine myself in my account of them to a few general observations.

The city of Cyme is one of the largest and most ancient in Æolia. The inhabitants had been described to us as men almost stupid; but we soon found that they owed this character only to their virtues. The next day after our arrival it rained, while we were walking in the forum, which is surrounded with porticoes appertaining to the republic. We were about to take shelter under them, but were withheld, because it was necessary permission should first be given. A voice exclaimed: "Enter under the porticoes;" and immediately every person

[g] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 170. [h] Id. lib. 9. cap. 106. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 29.

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ran thither. We learned that they had been made over for a time to the creditors of the state; and as the people pay respect to their property, though they, on the other hand would blush to leave the people exposed to the inclemency of the weather, it is said that the inhabitants of Cyme would never take refuge, under the porticoes when it rains, unless they were expressly desired. It is also said, that for three hundred years they knew not that they possessed a harbour, because during that time they abstained from receiving any customs on the merchandise which was brought to them from foreign countries.[i]

After having passed some days at Phocæa, the walls of which are built with large stones joined together with the greatest exactness,[k] we entered the vast and rich plains which the Hebrus fertilises with its waters, and which extend from the sea-shore to beyond Sardes.[l] The pleasure I felt in admiring them was accompanied with a melancholy reflection. How repeatedly, said I, have these fields been drenched with human blood![m] and how many times yet to come shall they again be ensanguined![n] When I surveyed a spacious plain in Greece, I was constantly informed, Here, on such an occasion, so many thousand Greeks fell in battle: but in Scythia it was said: These fields, the eternal abode of peace, will feed so many thousand sheep.

[i] Strab. lib. 13. p. 622. [k] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 163. [l] Strab. lib. 13. p. 626. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 492. [m] Xen. Instit. Cyrus, p. 158. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 298. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 9. p. 226. [n] Liv. lib. 37. c. 37.

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Our road, which was almost every where overshadowed by beautiful arbutus,[o] led us to the mouth of the Hermus, and thence our view extended over that superb bay, formed by a peninsula, on which are the cities of Erythræ and Teos. At the bottom of it are some small villages, the unfortunate remains of the ancient city of Smyrna, formerly destroyed by the Lydians.[p] They still bear the same name; and should favourable circumstances one day permit the inhabitants to unite and form one town, defended by walls, their situation will doubtless attract an immense commerce. They showed us, at a little distance from their habitations, a grotto from which issues a small stream they name Meles. They hold this place sacred: for it was there, as they pretend, that Homer composed his immortal works.[q]

In the road, almost in front of Smyrna, is the island of Clazomenæ, which derives a great profit from its oils.[r] Its inhabitants hold one of the first ranks among the people of Iönia. They told us the means they once employed to restore their finances. After a war that had exhausted the public treasury, they found they were indebted to the disbanded soldiers the sum of twenty talents;* which being unable to raise, they paid them interest, which they fixed at twenty-five per cent. They afterward struck iron-money, to which they affixed the same value as if it

[o] Tournef. Voyag. tom. i. p. 485. [p] Strab. lib. 14. p. 646.
[q] Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 535. Aristid. Orat. in Smyrn. tom. i. p. 408. [r] Aristot. Cur. Rei Famil. t. ii. p. 504.

* 108,000 livres. (4,500*l.*)

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were silver. The sicli consented to take it, the debt was liquidated, and the revenues of the state, administered with economy, enabled them gradually to call in the adulterated coin circulated in commerce.[s]

The petty tyrants formerly established in Iönia had recourse to more odious means to acquire riches. The following fact was related to us at Phocæa. A Rhodian governed that city, who had contrived to form two opposite factions. He separately and secretly told the leaders of each, that their enemies had offered him such a sum of money to declare in their favour; by which means he obtained the same price from both, and afterward effected a reconciliation between the two parties.[t]

We took our road toward the south. Besides the cities which are within land, we visited, on the sea-shore, or in the environs, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Iasus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Gnidus.

The inhabitants of Ephesus showed us with regret the ruins of the temple of Diana, equally celebrated for its antiquity and its magnificence.[u] Fourteen years before it had been burnt, not by lightning, or the fury of an enemy, but by the caprice of an individual, named Herostratus, who, when put to the torture, confessed that his only motive was to eternise his name.[x] The general assembly of the states of Iönia passed a decree to condemn this fatal name to oblivion; but the prohibition to record it can

[s] Ap. Aristot. Cur. Rei Famil. tom. ii. p. 504. [t] Id. ibid.
[u] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 357. [x] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. c. 27. t. ii. p. 456. Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Solin. c. 40.

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only serve to perpetuate its remembrance; and the historian Theopompus one day told me, that, when he relates the fact, he shall give the name of the incendiary.[y]

Nothing remains of this superb edifice but the four walls, and some columns which rise in the midst of ruins. The fire has consumed the roof, and the ornaments which decorated the nave. It is begun to be rebuilt. All the citizens have contributed, and the women have sacrificed their jewels.[z] The parts which the fire has damaged will be repaired, and those which it has destroyed restored with still greater magnificence, or at least with more taste. The beauty of the inside was heightened by the lustre of gold, and the works of several celebrated artists;[a] but it will now derive additional splendour from the tributes of painting and sculpture,[b] which have been brought to perfection in these modern times. No change will be made in the form of the statue, a form anciently borrowed from the Egyptians, and which is also found in the temples of several Greek cities.[c] The goddess bears on her head a tower; two iron rods support the hands; and the body terminates in a sheath enriched with figures of animals and other symbols.*

The Ephesians have a very wise law relative to the construction of public edifices. The architect,

[y] Aul. Gell. lib. 2. c. 6. Val. Max. lib. 8. c. 14. Extern. No. 5. [z] Aristot. Cur. Rei Famil. t. ii. p. 505. Strab. lib. 14. p. 640. [a] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 598. Plin. lib. 34. c. 8. t. ii. p. 649. [b] Strab. lib. 14. p. 641. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 697. [c] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 31, p. 357. * See note XV. at the end of the volume.

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whose plan is chosen, enters into a bond by which he engages all his property. If he exactly fulfils the conditions of his agreement, honours are decreed him; if the expense exceeds the sum stipulated only by one quarter, the surplus is paid from the public treasury; but if it amounts to more, the property of the architect is taken to pay the remainder.[d]

We next proceeded to Miletus, and surveyed with admiration its temples, festivals, manufactures, harbours, and the innumerable concourse of ships, mariners, and workmen, there perpetually in motion. This city is an abode of opulence, learning, and pleasure: it is the Athens of Iönia. Doris, daughter of the Ocean, had by Nereus fifty daughters, named Nereides, all distinguished by various charms.[e] Miletus has sent forth a still greater number of colonies, which perpetuate her glory on the coasts of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Euxine Sea.[f]* Their metropolis gave birth to the first historians and the first philosophers, and boasts of having produced Aspasia, and the most beautiful and accomplished courtesans. On certain occasions the interest of her commerce have compelled her to prefer peace to war; on others, she has laid down her arms without having disgraced them; and hence the proverb: The Milesians were valiant in times past.[g]

[d] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 10. p. 203. [e] Hesiod. de Gener. Deor. v. 241. [f] Ephor. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 523. Strab. lib. 14. p. 635. Senec. de Consolat. ad. Helv. c. 6. Plin. lib. 5. c. 22. t. i. p. 278. * Seneca attributes to Miletus seventy-five colonies; Pliny more than eighty. See the citations. [g] Athen. lib. 12. p. 523. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 1003.

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Within the walls the city is adorned by the productions of the arts; and without, embellished by the riches of nature. How often have we directed our steps to the banks of the Mæander, which, after having received numerous rivers, and bathed the walls of various cities, rolls its waters, in innumerable windings, through the plain which is honoured by bearing its name, and proudly ornaments its course with the plenty it creates![h] How often, seated on the turf which borders its flowery margin, surrounded on all sides with the most delightful prospects, and unable to satiate our senses with the purity and serene splendour of the air and sky,[i] have we not felt a delicious languor insinuate itself into our souls, and throw us, if I may so speak, into the intoxication of happiness! Such is the influence of the climate of Iönia: and as moral causes, far from correcting, have only tended to increase it, the Iönians are become the most effeminate, but at the same time are to be numbered among the most amiable people of Greece.

In their ideas, sentiments, and manners,[k] a certain softness prevails, which constitutes the charm of society; and in their music and dances[l] a liberty which at first offends, but at length seduces. They have added new charms to pleasure, and enriched their

[h] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 26. Strab. lib. 12. p. 577, 578. [i] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 142. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 533, 535. Chandl. Trav. in Asia Minor. c. 21. p. 78. [k] Aristoph. in Thesm. v. 170. Schol. ibid. Id. in Eccles. v. 913. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680. Ephor. et Heraclid. ap. Athen. lib. 12. c. 5. p. 525. [l] Horat. lib. 3. od. 6. v. 21. Athen. lib. 14. c. 5. p. 625.

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luxury by inventions. Numerous festivals occupy them at home, or attract them to the neighbouring cities, where the men appear in magnificent habits, and the women in all the elegance of female ornament, and with all the desire of pleasing.[m] Hence the reverence they preserve for the ancient traditions which justify their propensity to pleasure. Near Miletus we were conducted to the fountain of Biblis, where that unhappy princess expired with love and grief.[n] We were also shown Mount Latmos, where Diana granted her favours to the youth Endymion.[o] At Samos, unfortunate lovers address their vows to the manes of Leontichus and Rhadina.[p]

When we go up the Nile from Memphis to Thebes, we survey on each side monuments of every kind, among which pyramids and obelisks at intervals lift their heads. But a scene a thousand times more interesting offers itself to the admiration of the attentive traveller who takes his departure from the port of Halicarnassus to proceed to the peninsula of Erythræ. In this passage, which, in a right line, is only of about nine hundred stadia,* he views a multitude of cities scattered over the coasts of the continent and the neighbouring islands. Never with such a narrow space did Nature produce so great a number of men of distinguished talents and sublime genius. Herodo-

[m] Xenophon. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 526. [n] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 535. Conon. ap. Phot. p. 423. Ovid. Metam. lib. 9. v. 454. [o] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 376. Plin. lib. 2. c. 9. t. i. p. 76. Hesych. in Ἐνδυμ. &c. [p] Pausan. ibid. * About 34 leagues.

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tus was born at Halicarnassus, Hippocrates at Cos, Thales at Miletus, Pythagoras at Samos, Parrhasius at Ephesus,* Xenophanes† at Colophon, Anacreon at Teos, Anaxagoras at Clazomenæ, and Homer every where; for I have already said that the honour of having given birth to the latter excites a great rivalry through this country. I have not included in this list all the celebrated writers of Iönia; for the same reason that, when speaking of the deities of Olympus, we only mention the greatest gods.

From Iönia, properly so called, we passed into Doris, which makes a part of ancient Caria. Cnidus, situated near the promontory Triopium, gave birth to the historian Ctesias: as also to the astronomer Eudoxus, who has lived in our time. We were shown, as we passed by, the house in which the latter made his observations;[q] and soon after found ourselves in the presence of the celebrated Venus of Praxiteles. This statue had just been placed in the middle of a small temple, which received light by two opposite doors, in order that a gentle light might fall on it on every side.[r] But how may it be possible to describe the surprise we felt at the first view, and the illusions which quickly followed! We lent our own feelings to the marble,[s] and seemed to hear it sigh. Two pupils of Praxiteles, who had lately arrived from Athens to

* Apelles also was born in this country; at Cos according to some, and at Ephesus according to others. † The founder of the Elean school. [q] Strab. lib. 2. p. 119; lib. 14, p. 656. [r] Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. p. 726. Lucian. in Amor. § 13. t. ii. p. 411. [s] Diod. Sic. Eclog. ex. lib. 26. p. 884.

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study this master-piece of art, pointed out to us the beauties, of which we felt the effect without penetrating the cause. Among the by-standers one said — "Venus has forsaken Olympus, and come down to dwell with us." Another said—"If Juno and Minerva should now behold her, they would no more complain of the judgment of Paris:"[t] and a third exclaimed, "The goddess formerly deigned to exhibit her charms without a veil to Paris, Anchises, and Adonis. Has she been seen in the same manner by Praxiteles?"[u] "Yes," replied one of his pupils, "and under the form of Phryne."[x] In fact, at the first sight we had recognised the look and features of that famous courtesan; and our young artists discovered, at the same time, that the statue had the enchanting smile of another mistress of Praxiteles, named Cratine.[y]

Thus have the painters and sculptors, taking their mistresses for their models, exhibited them to public veneration under the name of different divinities. In like manner, in designing the head of Mercury, they have copied the features of Alcibiades.[z]

The Cnidians are proud of a treasure which at once promotes the interest of their commerce, and contributes to their glory. Among a people devoted to superstition, and passionately in love with the arts, an oracle or a celebrated monument is sufficient to

[t] Anthol. lib. 4. c. 12. p. 323. [u] Id. ibid. p. 324. [x] Athen. lib. 13. c. 6. p. 591. [y] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 47. Lucian. in Amor. § 13. t. ii. p. 411. [z] Clem. Alex. ibid.

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attract strangers, who frequently cross the seas, to repair to Cnidus, and contemplate the finest work which ever came from the hands of Praxiteles.[a] *

Lysis, who was unable to take his eyes from the statue, expressed his admiration in the most exaggerated terms; and exclaimed from time to time — Never did Nature produce any thing so perfect! But how, replied I, can you be certain that, among the infinite number of forms which she has given to the human body, there may not be some one which even surpasses in beauty that you have before your eyes? Have you examined all the bodies which have existed, or which now exist? You will at least confess, answered he, that art multiplies these models; and that, by carefully collecting the beauties scattered among different individuals,[b] it has found the secret of remedying the unpardonable negligence of Nature. Is not the human form exhibited with more splendour and dignity in the workshops of our artists than among all the families of Greece! In the eyes of Nature, replied I, nothing is beautiful, nothing deformed; all is order. Little does she regard that, from our innumerable combinations, a form may result possessed of all the perfections, or all the defects,

[a] Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. t. ii. p. 726. * Some coins struck at Cnidus, in the time of the Roman emperors, represent, it is supposed, the Venus of Praxiteles. — With her right hand the goddess conceals her sex, and in her left holds a linen cloth over a vessel containing perfumes. See the plate of medals, fig. 5.
[b] Xen. Mem. lib. 3. p. 781. Cicer. de Invent. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 75.

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which we attribute to the human body, but whose single object is to preserve that harmony which, connecting by invisible chains the minutest parts of the universe to the great whole, conducts them silently to the end she has proposed. Reverence therefore their operations: they are of so exalted a kind, that the least reflection would discover to you more real beauties in an insect than in this statue.

Lysis, indignant at the blasphemies I had uttered in the presence of the goddess, replied to me, with warmth—Why should we reflect, when we are compelled to yield to impressions so lively?—Those you feel, answered I, would be less so were you alone and uninterested, and especially were you ignorant of the name of the artist. I have followed the progress of your sensations. You have been struck at the first view, and you have expressed yourself like a man of taste; agreeable recollections have afterwards been awakened in your heart, and you have assumed the language of passion. When our young pupils had unfolded to you some secrets of their art, you have wished to refine on their expressions, and you chilled me with your enthusiasm. How much more commendable was the candour of that Athenian, who being by accident in the portico in which is the celebrated Helen of Zeuxis, and viewing it for some moments, was less surprised at the excellence of the picture than at the transports of a painter, who stood near him, and to whom he frankly said—For my part, I cannot perceive that this woman is so

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extraordinarily beautiful. — That is, replied the artist, because you have not my eyes.[c]

On coming out of the temple, we passed through the sacred grove, in which every object has a relation to the worship of Venus. There the mother of Adonis seemed again to live, and enjoy an eternal youth, under the form of the myrtle; the tender Daphne under that of the laurel;[d] and the beautiful Cyparissus under that of the cypress.[e] Every where the flexible ivy closely grasped the branches of the trees, and in some places the too fruitful vine found a convenient support. Beneath arbours overshadowed by lofty plane-trees, we saw several companies of Cnidians, who, after having solemnised a sacrifice, took a rural repast.[f]—They sang their loves, and frequently poured into their cups the delicious wine which that happy country produces.[g]

In the evening, when we returned to our inn, our two young pupils opened their portfolios, and showed us, in sketches which they had procured, the first thoughts of several celebrated artists;[h] as also a great number of studies which they had made after various beautiful works, and in particular after the famous statue of Polycletus which is named the Canon or rule.[i] They constantly carried with them

[c] Plut. ap. Stob. serm. 61. p. 394. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. p 47. [d] Philost. in Vit. Apol. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 19. Virg. eclog. 3. v. 63. [e] Philostr. ibid. [f] Lucian. in Amor. § 12. t. ii. p. 409. [g] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. [h] Petron. in Satir. p. 311. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xix. p. 260. [i] Plin. lib. 34. c. 8. t. ii. p. 650. Lucian. de Mort. Peregr. § 9. t. iii. p. 331.

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the work which that artist composed to justify the proportions of his figure;[k] and the treatise on symmetry and colours, which had been published not long before by the painter Eupranor.[l]

On this occasion several questions were proposed concerning beauty, both universal and individual. All present considered it as a quality solely relative to our species; and all agreed that it produces a surprise accompanied with admiration; and that it acts on us with more or less force, according to the organisation of our senses, and the modifications of our soul. But they added that, the idea which we form of it not being the same in Africa as in Europe, but every where varying according to the difference of age or sex, it was not possible to unite all its different characteristics in an exact definition.

One of the company, who was at once a physician and a philosopher, after having observed that the parts of our body are composed of primitive elements, maintained that health is the consequence of the equilibrium of these elements, and that beauty is the result of the whole produced by these parts.[m] No, said one of the disciples of Praxiteles; he who, servilely following rules, shall only fix his attention on the correspondence of the parts, and accuracy of their proportions, will never arrive at perfection. He was asked what models a great artist proposes to himself, when he wishes to represent the sovereign

[k] Galen. de Hippocr. et Plat. Dogmat. lib. 5. tom. i. p. 288.
[l] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 704. [m] Galen. de Hippocr. et Plat. Dogmat. lib. 5. t. i. p. 288.

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of the gods, or the mother of love? Those models, answered he, which he has formed to himself from an attentive study of nature and art; and in which are stored up, if I may so speak, all the charms which are suitable to every kind of beauty. With his eyes fixed on one of these, he endeavours, by long labour, to reproduce it in his copy:[n] he retouches it a thousand times; now stamping on it the impress of his elevated soul, and now that of his luxuriant imagination: and never leaves it till he has infused a sublime majesty into the Jupiter of Olympia, or seductive graces into the Venus of Cnidus.

The original difficulty, replied I, still remains. These images of beauty of which you speak, these abstract forms in which the truly simple is enriched by the true ideal,[o] have in them nothing precise or uniform: but each artist conceives and exhibits them to us with different features. The true idea therefore of the transcendently beautiful cannot be taken from measures so variable.

Plato, no-where finding beauty exempt from blemishes and imperfection, to discover it, raised his ideas to that model which the great Disposer of all things copied, when he reduced chaos to order.[p] There were traced, in an ineffable and sublime* manner, all the species of objects which our senses dis-

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 767. [o] Cicer. Orat. c. 2. t. i. p. 421. De Piles Cours, de Peint. p. 32. Winckelm. Hist. de l'Art, t. ii. p. 41. Jun. de Pict. Vet. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 9. [p] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. tom. iii. p. 93. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 29. * See Chap. LIX.

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cover,[q] and all the beauties of which the human body is susceptible in the different periods of life. Had not rebellious matter opposed, with an invincible resistance, the action of the Divine Being, the visible world would have possessed all the perfections of the intellectual. Particular beauties indeed would have made on us but a slight impression, because they would have been common to individuals of the same sex and the same age; but how much stronger and more durable would have been our emotions at beholding such a profusion of beauties, ever pure and without the least mixture, —ever the same, and ever new!

In our present state, the soul, in which shines a ray of light emanated from the Divinity, incessantly sighs after this essential beauty;[r] seeks its feeble remains dispersed in the beings which surround it; and elicits from itself some sparkles of it, which are resplendent in the noble productions of the arts, and cause us to acknowledge that their authors, no less than the poets, are animated by a celestial flame.[s]

This theory was admired, but at the same time combated. Philotas took up the discourse. Aristotle, said he, who never indulges his imagination, perhaps because Plato has indulged his but too much, has been contented with saying that beauty is order in grandeur.[t] In fact, order supposes symmetry, fitness,

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. tom. ii. p. 597. [r] Plat. in Conv. tom. iii. p. 211. Id. in Phæd. p. 251. [s] Jun. de Pict. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 23. [t] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. c. 7. t. ii. p. 49. Id. de Poet. c. 7. t. ii. p. 658.

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and harmony; in grandeur are comprised simplicity, unity, and majesty. It was agreed that this definition contained nearly all the characteristics of beauty, both universal and particular.

We went from Cnidus Mylasa, one of the principal cities of Caria. It possesses a rich territory, and contains a great number of temples, some of them very ancient, and built of a beautiful marble, dug from a neighbouring quarry.[u] In the evening, Stratonicus told us he intended to play on the cithara, in the presence of the people of the place; and was not to be dissuaded from his design by our host, who related to him a fact that had lately happened in another city of that district, named Iasus. The multitude having collected together at the invitation of a player on the cithara, at the moment when he displayed all the powers of his art, the trumpet sounded to give notice of the sale of fish, on which all his hearers ran away to the market, except one honest citizen who was rather deaf. The musician approached him, to thank him for his polite attention, and congratulate him on his good taste—What, said he, has the trumpet sounded?—It certainly has, replied the musician.—Farewell then, said the other, I must be gone this moment.[x] On the next day, Stratonicus, being in the middle of the forum, around which are a number of sacred edifices, and seeing only a very few auditors about him, began to cry with his utmost strength, "O ye temples

[u] Strab. lib. 14. p. 658. Herodot. lib. 1. c. 171. [x] Strab. ibid.

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hear me!" and after having preluded for a few moments, dismissed the company. This was all the revenge he took for the contempt with which the Greeks of Caria treated his extraordinary abilities.[y]

He was exposed to greater danger at Caunus.—The country there is fertile; but the heat of the climate, and the great abundance of fruits, often occasion fevers. We were astonished at the number of pale and languid sick persons whom we saw in the streets. Stratonicus thought proper to quote to them a verse of Homer, in which the race of men is compared to the leaves on trees.[z] This was in the autumn, when the leaves were yellow. Perceiving that the people were offended at his pleasantry, he added—"I could not mean to say that this place is unwholesome, for I here every day see the dead walking about the streets."[a] It was now necessary to depart immediately, which we did; but not without many reproaches on Stratonicus, who laughing told us that once at Corinth, having suffered some indiscreet jokes to escape him, he observed an old woman surveying him with great attention; and when he inquired why she did so, received for answer—"I am astonished how your mother could bear you within her nine months, when this city cannot a single day."[b]

[y] Athen. lib. 8. c. 9. p. 348. [z] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 146. [a] Strab. lib. 14. p. 651. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 533. ap. Geograph. Min. t. iv. p. 101. [b] Athen. lib. 8. c. 9. p. 349.

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CHAPTER LXXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

The Islands of Rhodes, Crete, and Cos. . . . Hippocrates.

We embarked at Caunus. As we approached Rhodes, Stratonicus sang to us that beautiful ode in which, among other praises Pindar has bestowed on that island, he calls it the daughter of Venus, and the spouse of the sun;[c] expressions which perhaps have a reference to the pleasures the goddess there distributes, and to the attention of the god to honour it incessantly with his presence; for it is affirmed that there is no day in the year on which he is not visible there for some moments.[d] The Rhodians consider him as their principal divinity,[e] and his image is stamped on all their money.

Rhodes was first named Ophiusa,[f] that is to say, the isle of serpents; a name given also to several other islands which abounded in those reptiles, when they were first taken possession of by men; and it may be made a general remark, that a great number of places, at the time of their first discovery, were

[c] Pind. Olymp. 7. v. 25.
[d] Plin. lib. 2. c. 62. t. i. p. 104.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 327.
[f] Strab. lib. 14. p. 653. Steph. in Ῥόδ.

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named after the animals, trees, plants, and flowers, which were found there in greatest abundance. It was said, I am going to the country *of quails, of cypresses, of laurels,* &c.[g]

In the time of Homer, the island of which I speak was divided between the cities of Ialysus, Camirus, and Lindus,[h] which still exist, though deprived of their ancient splendour. Almost in our time the greater part of their inhabitants having resolved to settle in one place to unite their strength,[i] laid the foundation of the city of Rhodes,* after the designs of an Athenian architect.[k] They conveyed thither the statues that had adorned their former abodes,[l] and of which some are truly colossal.[m]† The new city was built in the form of an amphitheatre,[n] on a spot of ground which has a declivity to the sea-shore.—Its ports, arsenals, and walls, which are extremely high, and defended by towers; its houses built with stone, and not with brick; its temples, streets, and theatres—all bear the impress

[g] Eustath. in Dionys. v. 453. p. 84. Spanh. de Prest. Num. t. i. p. 320. [h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 656. Pind. olymp. 7. v. 135. [i] Strab. lib. 14. p. 655. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 196. Conon, ap. Phot. p. 456. Aristid. Orat. de Concord. t. ii. p. 398. * In the 1st year of the 93d Olympiad. (Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 196.) Before Christ 408 or 407. [k] Strab. ibid. p. 654. [l] Pind. olymp. 7. v. 95. [m] Plin. lib. 34. c. 7. t. ii. p. 647. † Among these colossal statues I do not include the famous Colossus, which, according to Pliny, was seventy cubits high, because it was not erected till about sixty-four years after the time in which I place the voyage of Anacharsis to Rhodes. (Meurs. in Rhod. lib. 1. c. 15.) But I mention it here to show what a taste the Rhodians had in those times for gigantic statues. [n] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 811.

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of grandeur and beauty;[o] all proclaim the taste of a people who cherish the arts, and whose opulence enables them to execute great designs.

The air of the island of Rhodes is pure and serene.[p] The country contains fertile districts; and produces excellent grapes and wine, trees of particular beauty, and honey which is in great esteem. We also find there salt-pits and quarries of marble; and the surrounding sea furnishes the island with fish in abundance.[q] These advantages, and others beside, have occasioned the poets to say that a golden rain descends on Rhodes from heaven.[r]

Nature was assisted by industry. Before the æra of the Olympiads, the Rhodians applied themselves to maritime affairs.[s] Their island, by its happy situation,[t] invited ships to put in there in their passage from Egypt to Greece, or Greece to Egypt.[u] They successively formed settlements in the greater part of the places to which they were drawn by commerce. Among their numerous colonies, we must reckon Parthenope* and Salapia in Italy, Agrigentum and Gela in Sicily, Rhodes† on the coast of Iberia, at the foot of the Pyrenees, &c.[x]

[o] Strab. lib. 14. p. 652. Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 689. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 31. p. 356. Aristid. Orat. Rhodiac. t. ii. p. 342 et 358. Dio Chrysost. orat. 31. p. 354. [p] Suet. in Tiber. c. 11. [q] Meurs. in Rhod. lib. 2. c. 1. [r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 670. Pind. olymp. 7. v. 89. Strab. lib. 14. p. 654. [s] Strab. lib. 14. p. 654. [t] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 430. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. c. 3. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 329. Demosth. adv. Dionys. p. 1121, &c. * Naples. † Roses, in Spain. [x] Strab. lib. 14. p. 654. Meurs. Rhod. lib. 1. c. 18.

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The progress of their improvement in knowledge is marked by æras sufficiently distinct. In the most ancient times they were taught by some strangers, known by the name of Telchinians, certain processes, at that time no doubt very rude, for working metals; and the authors of this beneficial discovery were suspected of employing magical operations.[y] Men more enlightened afterwards gave them ideas on the course of the heavenly bodies, and on the art of divination. These were called the children of the sun.[z] At length men of genius induced them to submit to laws, the wisdom of which is universally acknowledged.[a] Those relative to their navy will always preserve it in a flourishing condition, and may serve as a model to commercial nations.[b] The Rhodians confidently navigate every sea, and visit every coast. The lightness and speed of their vessels, the discipline observed on board of them, and the ability of their commanders and pilots are no where to be equalled.[c] This part of the administration is confined to attentive and rigid magistrates; and any person who without permission should enter certain places in the arsenals would be punished with death.[d]

I shall mention some of their civil and criminal laws. To prevent children from suffering the memory

[y] Strab. lib. 14. p. 654. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 326. [z] Strab. ibid. Diod. Sic. p. 358. [a] Strab. ibid. p. 652. [b] Meurs. in Rhod. lib. 1. c. 21. Dissert. de M. Pastoret sur l'Influence des Lois des Rhodiens. [c] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 402. Liv. lib. 37. c. 30. Cicer. pro Leg. Manil. c. 18. t. v. p. 20. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. c. 8. [d] Strab. lib. 14. p. 653.

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of their father to be dishonoured, the law ordains that they shall pay his debts, even though they renounce the succession.[e] At Athens, when a man is condemned to die, before he is executed, his name is obliterated from the register of the citizens; it is not therefore an Athenian but a stranger who suffers the ignominious punishment.[f] The same spirit has dictated the law of the Rhodians, which enacts that those who have committed murder, shall be tried without the city.[g] With a view to inspire a greater horror for guilt, the public executioner is forbidden to enter the city.[h]

The supreme authority had always been in the hands of the people, but it was wrested from them some years since by a faction in the interest of Mausolus king of Caria,[i] and they in vain implored the assistance of Athens.[k] The rich, who had before been ill treated by the people, took more care of their interests than they had done themselves. They ordered distributions of corn to be made among them, from time to time; and appointed certain officers to supply the necessities of the poorer class, and especially of those employed in the fleets and arsenals.[l]

Such prudent measures will no doubt perpetuate

[e] Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypoth. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 38. [f] Dio Chrysost. orat. 31. p. 336. [g] Aristid. Orat. Rhod. t. ii. p. 353. [h] Dio Chrysost. orat. 31. p. 348. [i] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 3. t. ii. p. 388; et c. 5. p. 392. Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 12. p. 444. Demosth. de Libert. Rhod. p. 144, 145. Liban. Argum. ibid. p. 143. Ulpian. in Demosth. p. 149. [k] Demosth. de Libert. Rhod. p. 143. [l] Strab. lib. 14. p. 652.

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the oligarchy ;* and, so long as the principles of the constitution shall remain uncorrupted, other states will ever seek the alliance of a people, the leaders of whom are distinguished by consummate prudence, and the soldiers by intrepid courage.[m] But these alliances will never be frequent.[n] The Rhodians will remain as much as possible in an armed neutrality. They will have fleets always ready to protect their commerce ; by commerce they will amass riches ; and the riches will enable them to maintain their fleets.

Their laws inspire them with an ardent love for liberty, and their superb monuments impress their minds with the ideas and sentiments of grandeur. They preserve hope in the most calamitous reverses of fortune, and the ancient simplicity of their fathers in the midst of opulence.† Their manners have sometimes been endangered; but they are so attached to certain forms of order and decency, that such attacks have on them only a transient influence. They appear in public in modest habits, and with a grave demeanour. They are never seen running in the streets, and hurrying over each other. They are present at the public shows in silence ; and in those entertainments in which mirth and the confidence of

* The oligarchy established at Rhodes in the time of Aristotle still subsisted in the time of Strabo. [m] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 428. Id. Excerpt. Legat. p. 924. Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 820. Hist. de Bell. Alexandr. c. 15. [n] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 809. † See note XVII. at the end of the volume.

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friendship reign, they forget not the respect they owe to themselves.[o]

We went over the eastern part of the island, which it is pretended was formerly inhabited by giants.[p] Bones of a prodigious size have been found there,[q] and we have been shown others like them in different places in Greece. Has this race of men really existed? I know not.

At the town of Lindus, the temple of Minerva is remarkable not only for its great antiquity and the offerings of kings,[r] but also for two objects which fixed our attention. We there saw, traced in letters of gold, that ode of Pindar which Stratonicus had rehearsed to us;[s] and near it the portrait of Hercules by Parrhasius, who, in an inscription at the bottom of the picture, has declared that he has represented the god such as he had seen him more than once in a dream.[t] Other works of the same artist excited the emulation of a young man of Caunus, with whom we had made an acquaintance, and who was named Protogenes. I mention him, because it is augured, from his first essays, that he will one day rival, or even surpass, Parrhasius.

Among the men of letters which the island of Rhodes has produced, we shall first mention Cleobulus, one of the sages of Greece; and next Timocreon,

[o] Dio Chrysost. orat. 31. p. 359; orat. 32. p. 377. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 327. [q] Phleg. de Reb. Mirab. c. 16. [r] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 182. Note de M. Larcher, t. ii. p. 519. Meurs. in Rhod. lib. 1. c. 6. [s] Georg. ap. Schol. Pind. olymp. 7. p. 76. Alter. Schol. p. 88. [t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. p. 694. Athen. lib. 12. c. 11. p. 543.

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and Anaxandrides, both celebrated for their comedies. The former was at once an athleta and a poet, extraordinarily voracious, and extremely satirical. In his theatrical pieces, as well as in his songs, he satirised, without mercy, Themistocles and Simonides. After his death Simonides composed his epitaph in these words:—"I have passed my life in eating, drinking, and speaking ill of everybody." [u]

Anaxandrides, invited by the king of Macedon to his court, increased, by one of his pieces, the splendour of the festivals there celebrated.[x] Having been chosen by the Athenians to compose the dithyrambics to be sung during the solemnization of some religious ceremony, he appeared on horseback, at the head of the chorus, habited in a purple robe fringed with gold, his hair floating on his shoulders, and singing himself the verses he had written.[y] He believed that the splendor of his dress, added to the gracefulness of his person, would ensure to him the admiration of the multitude. His vanity rendered him insufferably petulant. He had composed sixty-five comedies, and gained the prize ten times; but, much less flattered by his victories than mortified by his failures, instead of correcting the pieces which had not succeeded, he sent them in a fit of passion to the grocers for waste paper.[z]

The general character of the people is not to

[u] Athen. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 415. Anthol. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 212. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 27. Plut. in Themist. t. 1. p. 122. Suid. in Τιμοκρ. [x] Suid. in Ἀναξανδρ. [y] Athen. lib. 9. c. 4. p. 374. [z] Id. ibid.

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be estimated from these examples. Timocreon and Anaxandrides lived at a distance from their country, and sought only their own personal glory.

The island of Rhodes is much smaller than that of Crete.* Both appeared to me to merit attention. The former has raised itself above what might have been expected from the means it possessed, while the latter has not attained to the eminence to which it appears entitled from its situation and advantages. We had a very prosperous passage from one island to the other: and landed at the port of Cnossus, distant from the city of the same name twenty-five stadia.[a]†

In the time of Minos, Cnossus was the capital of Crete.[b] The inhabitants are desirous still to preserve to it the same prerogative; and found their pretensions, not on their present power, but on the glory of their ancestors,[c] and on a title which they consider as still more sacred: I mean the tomb of Jupiter,[d] or that famous cave in which they say he was buried.

It is situate at the foot of Mount Ida, at a small distance from the city: they pressed us to go to see it; and the Cnosian, who was so obliging as to entertain us in his house, insisted on accompanying us thither.

Our way lay through the forum, which was full of people. We were told that a stranger was to deliver

* Now Candia. [a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 476. † About a league. [b] Strab. lib. 10. p. 476. Homer. Odyss. lib. 19. v. 178. [c] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. [d] Meurs. in Cret. cap. 3, 4.

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an oration in honour of the Cretans, at which design we were not surprised; for we had seen, in several places in Greece, orators or sophists compose or recite, in public, the panegyric of a people, a hero, or some celebrated personage.[e] But what was our astonishment when the stranger ascended the rostrum, to behold Stratonicus, who the evening before, without giving us any intimation of his design, had signified his intention to the magistrates, with whom he had become acquainted in a preceding voyage!

After having represented the ancient inhabitants of the island in a state of barbarism and ignorance[f]—Among you, he proceeded, was it that all the arts were discovered, and to you is the world indebted for them. Saturn endowed you with the love of justice, and that simplicity of heart by which you are especially distinguished;[g] Vesta taught you to build houses, and Neptune to construct ships; you owe to Ceres the culture of corn, to Bacchus that of the vine, to Minerva that of the olive;[h] Jupiter destroyed the giants who endeavoured to enslave you;[i] and Hercules cleared your island of serpents, wolves, and different kinds of noxious animals.[k] The authors of these various benefits, admitted by your cares into the number of the gods, first received

[e] Isocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 120. Id. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 114. Plat. in Hipp. Min. t. i. p. 363. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 192. [f] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 173. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 334. [g] Diod. Sic. ibid. [h] Id. ibid. p. 336, &c. [i] Id. ibid. p. 338. [k] Id. lib. 4. p. 225. Plut. de Inimic. Util. t. ii. p. 86. Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. 3. cap. 32. Plin. lib. 8. c. 58. t. 1. p. 484.

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existence in this beautiful country, and are now solely occupied in procuring its happiness.

The orator afterwards spoke of the wars of Minos; his victories over the Athenians; the strange loves of Pasiphaë; and that man, still more strange, who was born with the head of a bull, and who was named Minotaur. Stratonicus, while he collected the most contradictory traditions and absurd fables, treated them as important and incontestable truths, from which resulted a ridicule so glaring that we trembled for him; but the multitude, intoxicated with the praises which he had so profusely lavished on them, would scarcely suffer him to proceed for their applause.

When he had concluded his harangue, he came and joined us. We asked him whether, while he entertained himself at the expense of the people, he had not feared irritating them by the extravagance of his praises? No, replied he; the modesty of nations, like that of individuals, is so mild a virtue, that it easily pardons any insult of that kind.

The road which leads to the cave of Jupiter is very pleasant: it is bordered by lofty trees; and has on each side of it charming meadows, and a grove of cypress trees of remarkable height and beauty: the grove is consecrated to the gods, as is also a temple, at which we afterwards arrived.[1]

At the entrance of the cavern a number of offerings are suspended. We were shown, as a singularity,

[1] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 925.

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one of those black poplars which bear fruit annually; and we were told that others grew in the environs, on the borders of the fountain Saurus.[m] The length of the cave may be about two hundred feet, and its breadth twenty.[n] At the bottom we saw a seat which is called the throne of Jupiter; and near it this inscription, in ancient characters: THIS IS THE TOMB OF ZAN.[o]*

As it was believed that the god revealed himself in the sacred cavern to those who repaired thither to consult him, men of genius took advantage of this error to enlighten or mislead the people. It is, in fact, affirmed that Minos,[p] Epimenides, and Pythagoras, when they wished to give a divine sanction to their laws or their opinions, descended into this cave, and remained shut up in it for a certain time.[q]

From the tomb of Jupiter we proceeded to the city of Gortyna, one of the principal in the island. It is situate at the entrance of a very fertile plain. On our arrival we were present at the trial of a man accused of adultery. He was found guilty, and treated as one who had become a vile slave of his senses. Deprived of the privileges of a citizen, he appeared in public with a crown of wool, the symbol

[m] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. c. 5. p. 124. [n] Benedet. Bordon. Isolar. p. 49. [o] Meurs. in Cret. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 78.

* Zan is the same as Ζην, Jupiter. It appears, by a coin in the cabinet of the king of France, that the Cretans pronounced TAN. (Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxvi. p. 546.) This inscription was not of very great antiquity.

[p] Homer. Odyss. lib. 19. v. 179. Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 319. [q] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 3.

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of effeminacy, and was obliged to pay a considerable sum of money.[r]

We were made to ascend a hill, by a very rough road,[s] till we came to the entrance of a cavern, the inside of which presented innumerable circuits and windings. There we see distinctly the danger of a first mistake, for there the error of a moment may cost the unwary traveller his life. Our guides, whom long experience had made acquainted with every turning of these dark retreats, were provided with torches. We followed a kind of alley, wide enough to admit two or three men to pass in front, and in some places of the height of seven or eight feet, but in others only two or three. After having walked, or crept, the distance of about twelvehundred paces, we came to two halls, almost round, each twenty-four feet in diameter, and having no other outlet but the way that had brought us to them. Both were cut in the rock, as was likewise a part of the passage which led to them.[t]

Our guides pretended that this vast cavern was that famous labyrinth in which Theseus killed the Minotaur that Minos kept shut up there. They added, that at first the labyrinth was only intended for a prison.[u]*

In mountainous countries, the want of maps frequently obliged us to ascend an eminence, to discover the relative position of the places around us. The

[r] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 12. Not. Perizon. ibid. [s] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 97. [t] Id. ibid. p. 65. [u] Philoch. ap. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 6. * See note XVIII. at the end of the volume.

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summit of Mount Ida presented us with a station that commanded a most extensive prospect. We took with us provisions for some days; and made part of the journey on horseback, and part on foot.[x] As we ascended the mountain, we visited the caves which were the dwellings of the first inhabitants of Crete.[y] We passed through woods of oaks, maples, and cedars, and admired the size of the cypress trees and the height of the arbutes and andrachnes.[z] As we proceeded, the road became more rugged and steep, and the country more desert. Our way lay sometimes along the edge of precipices; and, to render our journey more tiresome, we were obliged to endure the frigid reflections of our host, who compared the different regions of the mountains sometimes to the different ages of life, and sometimes to the dangers of elevation and the vicissitudes of fortune. Could you have imagined, said he, that this enormous mass, which in the midst of our island occupies a space of six hundred stadia in circumference,[a]* which has successively presented to our view superb forests, valleys, and delightful meadows,[b] animals wild and tame,[c] and abundant springs, which pour forth their waters to fertilise our plains[d]—

[x] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 52. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 334. [z] Dionys. Perieg. v. 503. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 121; lib. 4. c. 1. p. 283. Meurs. in Cret. c. 9. Belon. Observ. liv. 1. c. 16. 17. [a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 475. * 22 leagues and two thirds. [b] Theophrast. de Vent. p. 405. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 338. Wessel. Not. in Diod. t. i. p. 386. Meurs. in Cret. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 73. Belon. Observ. liv. 1. c. 16. [c] Meurs. ibid. c. 8. p. 100. [d] Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 89.

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would at last terminate in some rocks incessantly beaten by the winds, and perpetually covered with ice and snow?[e]

Crete must be reckoned among the largest islands hitherto known;[f] its length from east to west is, it is said, two thousand five hundred stadia;[g]* its breadth in the middle is about four hundred,[h]† but much less in every other part.[i] To the south the sea of Libya bathes its coasts, and to the north the Ægean: to the east it approaches Asia, and to the west Europe.[k] It abounds in mountains; some of which, though not so lofty as Mount Ida, are yet extremely high. In the western part of the island the most conspicuous are the *White Mountains*, which form a chain three hundred stadia in length.[l]‡

On the sea coasts, and within the country, are rich meadows covered with numerous flocks: well-cultivated plains present successively an abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, and fruits of every kind.[m] The island produces a number of salutary plants;[n] the trees are very large and flourishing, and cypresses delight much in the soil; they grow, it is said, amid

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 338. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 53. [f] Scyl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 56. Tim. ap. Strab. lib. 14. p. 554. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 568. [g] Scyl. ibid. Dicærach. Stat. Græc. ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 24. Meurs. in Cret. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 8. * 94 leagues and a half. [h] Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. t. 1. p. 209. † 15 leagues and an eighth. [i] Strab. lib. 10. p. 475. [k] Id. ibid. p. 474. [l] Id. ibid. p. 475. ‡ 11 leagues and a half. [m] Strab. ibid. Homer. Odyss. lib. 19. v. 173. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 343. Tournef. Voyag. t. 1. p. 23, 37, 42, &c. Meurs. in Cret. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 94; c. 9. p. 102. [n] Meurs. ibid. c. 10. p. 108.

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the eternal snows which crown the White Mountains, and which give to them their name.[o]

Crete was very populous in the time of Homer, and was estimated to contain ninety or a hundred cities.[p] I know not whether the number has since increased or diminished. It is said that the most ancient were built on the sides of mountains, and that the inhabitants descended into the plains when the winter was more severe and long than usual.[q] I have already remarked in my journey through Thessaly, that at Larissa the inhabitants complained of the successive increase of cold.*

The country being every where mountainous and unequal, the Cretans are less used to the race with horses than the foot race. By continually exercising the bow and sling, they are become the best archers and slingers in Greece.[r]

The island is of difficult access.[s] The greater part of its harbours are exposed to the wind;[t] but as it is easy to get out of them when the weather is favourable, they are convenient for expeditions destined to any part of the world.[u] Ships which sail from the most eastern promontory employ but three

[o] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 118; lib. 4. c. 1. p. 283. Plin. lib. 16. c. 33. t. ii. p. 25. Tournef. Voyage, t. i. p. 28. [p] Homer. Odyss. lib. 19. v. 174. Id. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 649. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. t. i. p. 313. [q] Theophr. de Vent. p. 405. * See Vol. III. Chap. XXXV. [r] Meurs. in Cret. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 177. Belon. Observ. liv. 1. c. 5. [s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 10. t. ii. p. 333. E. [t] Homer. Odyss. lib. 19. v. 189. Eustath. ibid. t. iii. p. 1861. lin. 43. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 225.

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or four days in their passage to Egypt;[x] and in only ten reach the Palus Mæotis, beyond the Euxine sea.[y]

The position of the Cretans in the midst of all known nations, the extreme populousness of their island, and the riches of their soil, would incline us to believe that Nature had destined them to reduce all Greece under their yoke.[z] Before the war of Troy they had subjected a part of the islands of the Ægean sea,[a] and formed settlements on several of the coasts of Asia and Europe.[b] At the breaking out of this war, eighty of their ships sailed to the shores of Ilium, under the command of Idomeneus and Merion.[c] Soon after, the spirit of conquest was extinguished among them; and in these later times has been succeeded by sentiments which it would be difficult to justify. At the time of the expedition of Xerxes, they obtained from the Pythia an oracle by which they were dispensed from affording succours to Greece;[d] and during the Peloponnesian war, influenced not by a principle of justice, but by a thirst of gain, they sent a body of archers and slingers to enter into the pay of the Athenians, who had requested this assistance from them.[e]

But such was never the spirit of their laws; those laws the more celebrated, as they have given birth to

[x] Strab. lib. 10. page 475. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. page 167. [z] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 10. t. ii. p. 332. [a] Meurs. in Cret. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 128. [b] Id. ibid. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 210. [c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 645. [d] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 169. [e] Thucyd. lib. 7. c. 57.

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others still more excellent. Let us regret that we cannot here cite all those which are relative to this great object. Let us at least pronounce with respect the name of Rhadamanthus, who from the most ancient times laid the foundations of legislation;[f] and that of Minos, who raised the superstructure.

Lycurgus borrowed from the Cretans the practice of repasts in common, the rigid rules of public education, and several other particulars which seem to establish a perfect conformity between his laws and those of Crete. Why then have the Cretans more early and more shamefully degenerated from their institutions than the Spartans? Unless I am mistaken, the following are the principal causes.

1. In a country surrounded by seas and mountains, which separate it from the neighbouring regions, each people it contains must sacrifice one part of their liberty to preserve the other; and for their mutual protection, unite their interests in one common centre. Sparta having become, by the valour of its inhabitants, or the institutions of Lycurgus, the capital of Laconia, dissensions are rarely seen to arise within that country. But in Crete, the cities of Cnossus, Gortyna, Cydonia, Phæstus, Lyctos, and a number of others, form so many independent republics, who are jealous enemies, and constantly at war with each other. When a rupture takes place between the people of Cnossus and Gortyna her rival, the island

[f] Ephor. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 476 et 482.

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is distracted with factions; and when they are united, it is in danger of being reduced to slavery.[h]

2. At the head of each of these republics ten magistrates, named Cosmi,[i]* are charged with the administration of the government, and the command of the armies. They consult with the senate; and lay the decrees, which they draw up in concert with that body, before the assembly of the people, which only possesses the privilege of confirming.[k] This constitution has an essential defect. The cosmi are only chosen from a certain class of citizens; and as, after their year of office has expired, they possess the exclusive right of filling the vacant places in the senate, the consequence is that a small number of families, invested with the whole authority of the state, refuse to obey the laws; exercise, by uniting, the most despotic power; or, by opposing each other, excite the most fatal seditions.[l]

3. The laws of Lycurgus establish equality of possessions among the citizens, and preserve it by prohibiting commerce and industry; but those of Crete permit every person to increase his property.[m] The former forbid all communication with foreign nations; but this stroke of genius escaped the legis-

[h] Strab. lib. 10. p. 478, 479. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 319. [i] Chish. Antiq. Asiat. p. 108. * This name, which is sometimes written in Greek Κόσμοι, and sometimes Κόσμιοι, may signify Regulators or Inspectors. (Chish. Antiq. Asiat. p. 123.) Ancient authors sometimes compare them to the Ephori at Lacedæmon. [k] Aristot. lib. 2. c. 10. t. ii. p. 333. [l] Id. ibid. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 490. [m] Polyb. ibid. p. 489.

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lators of Crete. That island is open to merchants and travellers from all countries, who import the contagion of riches and that of evil example. It appears that Lycurgus justly relied more on the purity of manners than on the excellence of laws. What has been the result? In no country have the laws been so respected as by the magistrates and citizens of Sparta. The Cretan legislators seem to have laid greater stress on the laws than on manners, and to have been more careful to punish than to prevent crimes: the consequence has been, injustice in the heads of the state, and corruption in individuals.[n]

The law of syncretism, which enjoins all the inhabitants of the island to unite if a foreign power should atempt a descent, would be insufficient to defend them either against their internal dissensions or against the arms of an enemy;[o] because it would only suspend instead of extinguishing animosities, and would suffer too many individual interests to subsist in a general confederation.

We were told of several Cretans who distinguished themselves by cultivating poetry and the arts.—Epimenides, who boasted that by certain religious ceremonies he could avert the anger of heaven, became much more celebrated than Myson, who was only placed among the number of the sages.[p]

In several places in Greece, pretended monuments

[n] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 490. Meurs. in Cret. lib. 4. c. 10. p. 231.
[o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 333. Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 490. [p] Meurs. in Cret. lib. 4. c. 11, &c.

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of the highest antiquity are preserved with reverence. At Chæronea is the sceptre of Agamemnon;[q] and elsewhere the club of Hercules,[r] and the spear of Achilles:[s] but I was more solicitous to discover in the maxims and usages of a people the relics of their ancient wisdom. The Cretans never employ the names of the gods in their oaths.[t] To guard against the dangers of eloquence, the professors of oratory were forbidden to enter their island;[u] and though they are at present more indulgent on this head, they still speak with the precision of the Spartans, and are more attentive to the thought than the words.[x]

I was witness to a quarrel between two Cnossians; one of whom, in a fit of passion, said to the other, "May you live in bad company!" and immediately left him. I was informed that this was considered as the bitterest imprecation that could be uttered against an enemy.[y]

Some of the Cretans keep a kind of register of their fortunate and unfortunate days; and as they estimate the duration of their lives only by the former, they order this singular inscription to be engraven on their tombs: "Here lies such a one, who existed during so many years, and lived so many."[z]

A merchant ship, and a galley with two benches

[q] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 40. p. 795. [r] Id. lib 2. c. 31. p. 185. [s] Id. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 211. [t] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 3. § 16. p. 251. Meurs. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 195. [u] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhet. lib. 2. p. 292. [x] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 641. E. [y] Val. Max. lib. 7. cap. 2. Extern. No. 18. [z] Meurs. in Cret. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 230.

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of oars, being ready to sail immediately from the port of Cnossus[a] for Samos, we chose to embark on board the former, though on account of its round shape, it was not so swift a sailer as the other, because it was to touch at the islands that we proposed to visit.

We composed a company of travellers who could never be wearied of each other. Sometimes, as we sailed along the coast, we admired the resemblance and variety of the prospects; and sometimes, less attentive to external objects, we discussed with warmth questions which in fact interested us but little. At other times we employed our leisure on subjects of philosophy, literature, and history. One day the conversation turned on the urgent necessity we feel to communicate the strong emotions raised in our souls. One among us cited the reflection of the philosopher Archytus: "Were any one to be carried up into the heavens, he would be transported with the grandeur and beauty of the spectacle; but to the ravishment of admiration would soon succeed the poignant regret, that he had no companion to share with him in his delight."[b] In this conversation I collected some other remarks — In Persia it is not permitted to speak of things which it is not permitted to do[c] — Old men live more on the memory of the past than on the hope of the future[d] — How often has a work, which has been ostentatiously announced, disappointed the expectations of the public![e]

[a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 476. [b] Cicer. de Amic. cap. 23. t. iii. p. 349. [c] Herrodot. lib. 1. c. 138. [d] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 2. c. 13. p. 565. B. [e] Isocr. in Nicocl. t. i. p. 54.

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In the conversation of another day, the citizen of Athens was stigmatised as infamous who gave a vote against Aristides, because he was disgusted at hearing him continually styled *the Just*.[f] I feel, replied Protesilaus, that in a moment of peevishness I might have done the same myself; but I should first have said to the general assembly — Aristides is just, so also am I, and others likewise are equally so. What right have you to bestow on him exclusively a title which is the most noble of rewards? Your praises become pernicious, and only tend to corrupt virtue which is conspicuous, and discourage that which is obscure. I esteem Aristides, yet I condemn him; not because I believe him culpable; but because, by mortifying me, you have forced me to be unjust.

The conversation afterwards turned on Timon, who was surnamed the Misanthrope, and whose history has in some measure a connexion with that of manners. No person among our company had known him, but all had heard their fathers speak of him differently. Some drew an advantageous portrait of him, and others painted him in the blackest colours.[g] In the midst of these disputes, a formal accusation, similar to those presented to the tribunal of Athens, was brought against him in these words: "Stratonicus accuses Timon of having hated all mankind; the punishment—the hatred of all mankind." It was agreed to hear the cause; and Philotas was appointed

[f] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 322. Nep. in Aristid. c. 1. [g] Tanaquil. Faber. in Lucian. Timon. p. 89. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiv. p. 74.

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advocate for Timon. I shall give a summary of the arguments on each side.

I accuse, before your tribunal, said Stratonicus, a ferocious and perfidious character. Some friends of Timon having, as is pretended, repaid the benefits they had received from him with ingratitude,[h] the whole human race became the object of his vengeance;[i] and he incessantly vented his spleen against the measures of government, and the actions of individuals. As if every virtue were to expire with him, he only beheld on the earth imposture and guilt, took offence even at the politeness of the Athenians, and declared that he was better pleased with their contempt than their esteem. Aristophanes, who was acquainted with him, represents him as surrounded with a hedge of thorns, which permitted no one to approach him: he says, likewise, that he was detested by all, and looked on as the offspring of the Furies.[k]

But this is not all; he was a traitor to his country, of which I can bring proof. Alcibiades having prevailed on the general assembly to approve of some projects hurtful to the state, "Bravely done, my boy!" said Timon to him; "I congratulate you on your success: proceed as you have begun, and you will be the ruin of the republic."[l]—How detestable

[h] Lucian. in Tim. t. i. § 8. p. 114. [i] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 4. c. 11. t. ii. p. 338. Id. de Amic. cap. 23. tom. iii. p. 349. Plin. lib. 7. c. 19. t. i. p. 385. [k] Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 810; in Av. v. 1548. [l] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199; in Anton. p. 948.

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are such expressions! and who will dare to undertake the defence of such a man?

That, replied Philotas, I have been appointed to perform, and I shall proceed to acquit myself of the charge. Let us first examine what effect the words of Timon produced on the crowd of Athenians who accompanied Alcibiades. Some indeed loaded him with invectives, but others laughed aloud; and those of most sense were struck as with a ray of light.[m] Thus Timon foresaw and foretold the danger, but was not listened to. To blacken him still more, you have quoted Aristophanes, without perceiving that his testimony is sufficient to justify the accused. "It is that Timon," says the poet, "that execrable man, sprung from the Furies, who incessantly pours forth imprecations against rogues and rascals."[n] You perceive, Stratonicus, that the crime of Timon was, that he reviled men of base character.

He lived at a time in which ancient manners still maintained a struggle against the passions leagued for their destruction. This is a period pregnant with the most momentous consequences to a state. Then is it that in feeble and indolent minds the virtues are indulgent, and accommodate themselves to circumstances; while in vigorous characters they redouble their severity, and sometimes become odious by their inflexible rigour. To much wit and integrity Timon added the light of philosophy;[o] but, soured perhaps by misfor-

[l] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199. [m] Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 816. [o] Plin. lib. 7. c. 19. t. i. p. 385. Suid. in Τίμ. Schol. Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 816.

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fortune, or perhaps by the rapid progress of corruption, he indulged in such asperity in his language and behaviour as gave offence to every body. He fought in the same cause as Socrates, who was his contemporary; and as Diogenes, between whom and him there was a considerable resemblance.[p] Their fate has depended on their different kinds of attack. Diogenes combated vice with ridicule, and we laugh with him; Socrates assailed it with the weapons of reason, and it cost him his life; Timon attacked it with sourness and asperity: he ceased to be dangerous, and was treated as a misanthrope; a term at that time new, which destroyed his credit with the multitude, and will perhaps be its destruction with posterity.[q]

I cannot believe that Timon meant to include the whole human race in his censure. He loved women.[r]—No, replied Stratonicus immediately; he must have been unacquainted with love, since he knew not friendship. Recollect what he said to that Athenian who seemed to be a favourite with him, and who, when they were supping privately together, having exclaimed—O Timon, what an agreeable repast! received only this insulting answer: Yes, if you were not present.[s]

This, replied Philotas, was perhaps only a pleasantry suggested by the circumstance. Let us not judge of Timon from the idle rumours raised against him by his enemies, but from the effusions of his heart,

[p] Plin. lib. 7. c. 19. t. i. p. 385. [q] Anthol. lib. 3. p. 218. Aristoph. in Lysistr. v. 820. [s] Plut. in Anton. t. i. p. 948.

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which were forced from him by his indignation in the cause of virtue; and the originality of which could never displease persons of taste; for, from a man who carries the love of the public good to too great a length, the sallies of petulance are poignant, because they display the whole of his character. He one day ascended the rostrum: the people, surprised at this unexpected sight, kept a profound silence. "Athenians," said he, "I have a small piece of ground, on which I mean to build. There is a fig-tree in it, which I must cut down. Several citizens have hanged themselves on this tree, and if any of you have a desire to do the same, I now give you notice that you have not a moment to lose."[1]

Stratonicus, who was unacquainted with this anecdote, was so entertained with it, that he gave up his accusation. The votes of the company, however, were collected; and it was determined that, by the asperity of his zeal, Timon had lost the opportunity of rendering real service to morals: but that intractable virtue is less dangerous than inert complaisance, and that, if the greater part of the Athenians had held knaves and villains in the same detestation as they held Timon, the republic would still retain its ancient splendour.

After this decision, several persons expressed their surprise, that the Greeks had never erected any temples to friendship—I am still more astonished, replied Lysis, that they have never dedicated any to Love. What! shall there be no festivals nor sacrifices in

[1] Plut. in Anton. t. i. p. 948.

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honour of the most ancient and most beautiful of the gods?[u] An ample subject now lay before us, which had repeatedly been discussed. The ancient traditions and modern opinions on the nature of love were adduced. Some acknowledged but one kind of love, and others distinguished several.[x] Others admitted only two; the one celestial and pure, and the other terrestrial and gross.[y] Some gave this name to the principle which reduced to order the parts of matter agitated in chaos,[z] to the harmony which reigns throughout the universe, or to the sentiments which unite mankind.[a] Wearied at length with so much learning and obscurity, I requested the disputants to reduce this long contest to a single point. Do you consider, said I, Love as a god? No, answered Stratonicus, he is a beggar soliciting alms.[b] He was beginning to explain his thought, when he was seized with a mortal panic. A violent gust of wind came on, and our pilot seemed to employ every resource of his art to no purpose.—Lysis, whom Stratonicus had never ceased to importune with questions, seized this moment to ask him which vessels he thought least exposed to danger; the round built or the square? Those, replied he, which are safe on dry ground.[c] He soon had the happiness to arrive at

[u] Hesiod. Theogon v. 120. Aristoph. in Av. v. 701. Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 177, 178, &c. [x] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 23, t. ii. p. 506. [y] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 180. [z] Cud. System. Intellect. tom. i. p. 160. Mosheim. not. x. p. 161. Bruck. tom. i. page 416. [a] Plat. in Conv. p. 179, 186, &c. [b] Plat. ibid. page 200 et 203. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 280. [c] Athen. lib. 8. c. 10. p. 350.

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this desirable situation. A brisk gale carried us into the port of Cos; we leaped on shore, and the vessel was drawn upon land.

This island is small, but very pleasant. If we except some mountains that defend it from the violence of the south winds, the country is level, and extremely fertile.[d] An earthquake having destroyed part of the ancient city,[e] and the inhabitants being afterward distracted by factions, the greater part, some years since, settled at the foot of a promontory, at the distance of forty stadia* from the continent of Asia. No situation can present richer prospects; nor can any thing be conceived more magnificent than the harbour, walls, and edifices, of the new city.[f] The celebrated temple of Æsculapius, situated in the suburb, is full of offerings, the tribute of the gratitude of the sick; and inscriptions which indicate the maladies by which they were afflicted, and the remedies in which they found a cure.[g]

A more noble object engaged our attention. In this island was born Hippocrates, in the first year of the eightieth Olympiad.[h]† He was of the family of the Asclepiadæ,[i] which for many ages has preserved the doctrine of Æsculapius, from whom it derives its origin.[k] It has formed three schools; one of which

[d] Strab. lib. 14. p. 657. [e] Thucyd. lib. 8. c. 41. Strab. ibid. * About a league and half. [f] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 386. [g] Strab. lib. 8. p. 374; lib. 14. p. 657. [h] Soran. Vit. Hippocr. Frer. Def. de la Chronol. p. 121. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 199. † The year 460 before Christ. [i] Plat. in Phædr. tom. iii. p. 270. [k] Soran. Vit. Hippocr. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 841.

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is established at Rhodes, another at Cnidus, and the third at Cos.[l] Hippocrates was instructed by his father Heraclides in the elements of the sciences; and being soon convinced that, to attain to the knowledge of the essence of each body in particular, it was necessary to ascend to the constituent principles of the universe,[m] he applied himself with such assiduity to the study of physics in general, that he obtained an honourable rank among those who have been most distinguished in that part of science.[n]

The improvement of medicine then depended on two classes of men, who laboured without the knowledge of each other to give it new splendour. On the one hand, the philosophers could not bestow their attention on the general system of nature without glancing on the human body, and assigning to certain causes the changes to which it is liable; and, on the other, the disciples of Æsculapius treated maladies according to rules that had been confirmed by numerous cures, and their three schools congratulated each other on many excellent discoveries.[o] The philosophers reasoned, the Asclepiadæ acted. Hippocrates, enriched with the knowledge of both, conceived one of those great and important ideas which serve as æras in the history of genius: this was, to enlighten experience by reasoning, and rectify theory by practice.[p] In this

[l] Galen. Method. Med. lib. 1. t. iv. p. 35. lin. 17. [m] Plat. in Phædr. tom. iii. p. 270. Theophrast. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 266. Galen. ibid. p. 36. lin. 28. [n] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 6. t. i. p. 534. [o] Galen. Method. Med. lib. 1. tom. iv. p. 35. lin. 16. [p] Cels. de Re Med. in Præfat. Dacier. Préf. de la Trad. des Œuvres d'Hippocr. Le Clerc. Hist. de la Médec. liv. 3. chap. 1.

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theory, however, he only admitted principles which may explain the phænomena observable in the human body, considered with respect to sickness or health.[q]

Improved by this new method, the art of physic, exalted to the dignity of a science, made a more certain progress in the path opened before it;[r] and Hippocrates silently effected a revolution which has changed the face of medicine. I shall not enlarge on the happy experiments he made of new remedies,[s] nor on the prodigies he wrought in all the places he honoured with his presence; especially in Thessaly, where, after a long residence, he died, a short time before my arrival in Greece.—But I shall say that neither the love of gain, nor the desire of celebrity, led him into those distant climates. From all that has been related to me concerning him, I have perceived in his soul but one sentiment—the love of doing good; and in the course of his long life but one single act—the relieving of the sick.[t]

He has left behind him several works. Some are only journals of the maladies he had followed through their various stages; others contain the observations of his own experience, and that of preceding ages; and others treat of the duties of the physician, and of various parts of medicine or of natural philosophy.

[q] Hippocr. de Princ. t. i. p. 112. [r] Galen. Method. Med. lib. 2. t. iv. p. 53. lin. 27. lib. 9. p. 134. lin. 23. [s] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 84. lin. 36, et alibi. [t] Galen. de Decret. lib. 9. t. i. p. 334. lin. 24.

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They all require attentive study; because the author frequently scatters the seeds of his doctrine,[u] and because his style is always concise: but he says a great deal in a few words; never wanders from the end he has in view; and, while he hastens towards it, leaves in his way traces of light which are more or less perceptible, according as the reader is more or less intelligent.[x] This was the method of the ancient philosophers, who were ever more desirous to point out new than to dwell on trite ideas.

This great man has pourtrayed himself in his writings. Nothing can be more affecting than the candour with which he gives an account of his failures and his errors. Here we read a list of the sick whom he attended in an epidemical distemper, and of whom the greater part died under his hands.[y] There we behold him called to the assistance of a Thessalian, who had been wounded in the head by a blow with a stone. He did now at first perceive that it was necessary to have recourse to the trepan; but some dangerous symptoms at length discovered to him his mistake. The operation was performed on the fifteenth day, and the patient died the day after.[z] It is from himself that we have received these accounts; for so superior was he to every kind of vanity, that he wished that even his very mistakes might be useful as lessons.

[u] Id. Method. Medend. lib. 7. t. iv. p. 106. lin. 52. [x] Id. de Vict. Rat. comm. 1. tom. v. page 51. lin. 29. Id. de Elem. lib. 2. tom. i. p. 58. lin. 25. [y] Hippocr. Epid. lib. 2, 3, &c. [z] Id. ibid. lib. 5. § 14. t. i. p. 778.

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Not satisfied with having dedicated his life to the relief of the sick, and having deposited in his writings the principles of a science of which he was the creator, he has also laid down rules for forming the physician, of which I shall give a slight sketch.

Life is so short, and the art we exercise so long, that the study of it should be begun in earliest youth.[a] Have you a pupil you would educate for the practice of medicine, examine leisurely whether his genius be adapted to the art. Has he received from nature an exquisite discernment, a sound judgment, a character in which mildness and firmness are combined, the love of labour, and an inclination to what is amiable and praiseworthy,[b] you will entertain well-founded hopes. Does he suffer with the sufferings of others; does he naturally feel the tenderest commiseration for the woes incident to his fellow-mortals; you will reasonably infer that he will be passionately devoted to an art that will instruct him in what manner to afford them relief.[c]

Accustom him early to the manual operations of surgery,* except those of lithotomy, which should be left to operators by profession.[d] Lead him in order through the whole circle of the sciences. Let natural philosophy show him the influence of climate on the human body; and when, to extend his knowledge

[a] Id. in Leg. § 2. t. i. p. 41. Id. in Aphor. § 1. p. 68. [b] Hippocr. in Leg. § 2. Id. de Decent. t. i. § 2. p. 53; § 5. p. 55; § 7. p. 56; § 11. p. 59. Le Clerc, Hist. de la Medec. liv. 3. chap. 29. [c] Hippocr. in Præcept. § 5. t. i. p. 63. * They at that time made a part of the art of medicine. [d] Hippocr. in Jusjur. § 2. t. i. p. 43.

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and experience, he shall travel through the different countries and cities, counsel him carefully to observe the situation of places, the difference of the air, the waters which are drunk, and the eatables which are the principal food of the inhabitants; in a word, all the causes that may occasion disorder in the animal economy.[f]

You shall also show him, in the mean time, by what preceding signs maladies may be known, by what regimen they may be avoided, and by what remedies cured.

When he shall be instructed in your doctrines, which shall be clearly explained in stated conferences, and which you shall reduce to short maxims proper to be impressed on the memory,[g] it will be necessary to inform him that experience alone is less dangerous than theory destitute of experience;[h] that it is time to apply general principles to particular cases, which, incessantly varying, have frequently misled physicians by deceitful resemblances;[i] that it is not in the dust of the school, nor in the works of philosophers,[k] that we can learn the art of interrogating nature, and the still more difficult art of waiting her answer. With nature he is yet unacquainted; he has hitherto only noticed her in full vigour, and arriving at the end at

[e] Hippocr. in Leg. § 3. t. i. p. 42. [f] Id. de Aer. Ac. et Loc. t. i. p. 327. [g] Id. in Jusjur. § 1. t. i. p. 43. Dacier. Trad. des Œuvres d'Hippocr. t. i. p. 150. [h] Hippocr. in Præcept. § 1, 2. t. i. p. 60. Aristot. Metaph. t. ii. p. 839. [i] Hippocr. Epid. lib. 6. § 3. t. i. p. 805; § 8. p. 822. [k] Id. de Princip. t. i. § 1. p. 112. Id. de Diæt. § 1. t. i. p. 179.

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which she aims without meeting with obstacles.[l] You shall conduct him to those abodes of pain, where, already veiled with the shades of death, exposed to the violent attacks of the enemy, falling and rising only to sink again, she displays to the attentive eye her wants and her resources. The disciple, while he witnesses this terrible combat, shall observe you watch and seize the instant which may decide the victory and save the life of the patient. If for some moments you quit the field of battle, you shall direct him to remain there, to observe every thing, and afterwards render to you an account both of the changes which have taken place during your absence, and of the remedies which he judges to be requisite.[m]

It is by obliging him to be frequently present at those terrible but instructive scenes that you shall initiate him, as much as possible, into the most profound secrets of nature and art. But this is not yet enough: when, for a small salary, you shall have adopted him for a disciple, he shall swear to preserve in his manners and practice an incorruptible purity,[n] and strictly fulfil his oath. Without the virtues requisite to his profession, he can never discharge its duties. What are these virtues? I scarcely except any one, since his functions are so honourable that they require almost all the noblest qualities of the mind and heart;[o] and, in fact, what head of a family, were he not assured of his discretion and integrity,

[l] Id. Epid. lib. 6. § 5. t. i. p. 809. [m] Hippocr. de Decent. § 12. t. i. p. 59. [n] Id. in Jusjur. § 2 t. i. p. 43. [o] Id. de Decent. § 5. t. i. p. 55.

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would not fear to call him in, lest he should introduce a spy into his house, and a seducer to his wife and daughters? [p] What dependance can be placed on his humanity, if he only accost his patients with an offensive gaiety, or a disgusting petulance? [q] on his firmness, if by a servile adulation he too much fear their displeasure, and give way to their caprices; [r] on his prudence, if continually occupied with his dress, arrayed in magnificent habits, and perfumed with essences, he is seen to stroll from city to city, to pronounce, in honour of his art, harangues filled with quotations from the poets? [s] What reliance can be placed on his understanding, if, besides that general justice which the man of sense and integrity observes towards every one, [t] he does not possess that which the sage exercises towards himself, and which teaches him that in the midst of the greatest knowledge there is more of want than of abundance? [u] And, lastly, what confidence can be reposed in the sincerity of his intentions, if he be under the dominion of a foolish pride, and that mean envy which was never the portion of superior genius: [x] if, sacrificing every other consideration to the thirst of gain, he devote himself only to the service of the rich; [y] if authorised by custom to stipulate his reward at the beginning of the malady, he is careful first to conclude his

[p] Hippocr. in Jusjur. § 2. t. i. p. 43. Id. de Med. § 1. p. 45. [q] Id. de Med. ibid. [r] Id. de Decent. § 10, 11. t. i. p. 58. [s] Id. ibid. § 2. p. 52, 53. Id. in Præcept. § 9. p. 66. Id. de Med. § 1. p. 44. [t] Id. de Med. § 1. t. i. p. 45. [u] Id. in Præcept. § 6. t. i. p. 65. [x] Id. ibid. p. 64. [y] Id. ibid. § 5, 6. p. 63.

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bargain, although the case of the patient becomes every moment more dangerous ?[z]

These vices and defects especially characterise those ignorant and presumptuous men with whom Greece is filled, and who disgrace the most noble of the arts by trafficking in the life and death of men; impostors the more dangerous, as they are beyond the reach of the laws, and as they cannot be mortified even by ignominy.[a]

Who then is the physician who is an honour to his profession? He who has merited the public esteem by profound knowledge, long experience, consummate integrity, and an irreproachable life;[b] he who, esteeming all the wretched as equals, as all men are equals in the eyes of the Divine Being, eagerly hastens to their assistance at their call, without distinction of persons;[c] speaks to them with mildness, listens to them with attention, bears with their impatience, and inspires them with that confidence which is sometimes sufficient to restore them to life;[d] who, sensibly feeling for their sufferings, carefully and assiduously studies the cause and progress of their complaint, is never disconcerted by unforeseen accidents,[e] and holds it a duty, in case of necessity, to call in some of his brethren in the healing art to assist him with their advice;[f] he, in fine, who, after

[z] Hippocr. in Præcept. § 2. p. 62. [a] Id. in Leg. § 1. t. 1. p. 40. [b] Id. in Med. § 1. p. 44. Id. de Decent. § 2. p. 53; § 4. p. 54. Id. in Præcept. § 1. p. 60. [c] Id. in Præcept. § 5. p. 63. [d] Id. ibid. § 4. p. 62. [e] Id. de Decent. § 9. p. 57. [f] Id. in Præcept. § 6, 7. p. 63, 64.

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having struggled with all his strength against the malady, is happy and modest in success, and may at least congratulate himself, in case of failure, that he has been able to alleviate the pains of his patient, and administer to him consolation.

Such is the philosophical physician whom Hippocrates compares to a god,[g] without perceiving that he has delineated the portrait of himself. Several persons, who, from the excellence of their own merit, were qualified to judge of the superiority of his, have often affirmed to me, that physicians will ever regard him as the first and most able of their legislators; and that his doctrine, adopted among all nations, after a thousand of years, will still continue to work thousands of cures.[h] Should this prediction be accomplished, the most extensive empires will be unable to dispute with the little island of Cos the glory of having produced the man most useful to the human race; and, in the eyes of men of real wisdom, the names of the greatest conquerors will be held in much less honour than that of Hippocrates.

After having visited some of the islands in the environs of Cos, we departed for Samos.

[g] Hippocr. de Decent. § 5. t. i. p. 55. [h] Cels. in Præfat. Plin. lib. 7. c. 37. t. i. p. 395. Id. lib. 18. t. ii. p. 106; lib. 26. p. 391; lib. 29. p. 496. Galen. passim. Hippocr. Genus et Vit. ap. Vander Linden, t. ii. p. 958, &c.

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CHAPTER LXXIV.

Description of Samos.—Polycrates.

When we enter the road of Samos, we see on the right the promontory of Neptune, on which stands a temple dedicated to that god; on the left the temple of Juno, and several beautiful edifices that appear through the trees which shade the banks of the Imbrasus. In front is the city, situate partly along the sea-shore, and partly on the declivity of a hill which rises on its north side.[i]

The island is six hundred stadia* in circumference. If we except its wines, all the productions of the country are as excellent,[k] as the partridges and different kinds of game which are found there in great abundance.[l] The mountains, covered with trees, which bestow on them eternal verdure, give birth at their feet to springs which fertilize the neighbouring plains.[m]

The city is equally distinguished with any that either the Greeks or barbarians possess on the neighbouring continent.[n] The inhabitants were eager to

[i] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. * Twenty-two leagues and two thirds. See note XIX. at the end of the volume. [k] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. [l] Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 412. [m] Plin. lib. 5. t. i. p. 287. Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 414. [n] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 139.

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show us its curiosities. The aqueduct, the mole, and the temple of Juno, principally engaged our attention.

Not far from the ramparts, towards the north, is a cavern, hollowed by the hands of men, in a mountain which is cut entirely through. The length of this passage is seven stadia; and its height, which is equal to its breadth, eight feet.* Through its whole extent a channel is cut, three feet wide, and twenty cubits deep;† and pipes placed at the bottom of the channel, convey to Samos the waters of a plentiful spring, which rises on the other side of the mountain.[o]

The mole is intended to secure the harbour and shipping from the south wind. Its height is about twenty orgyiæ, and its length more than two stadia.[p]‡

To the right of the city, in the suburb,[q] is the temple of Juno; originally built, as it is said, about the time of the Trojan war,[r] and since rebuilt by the

* Seven stadia are equal to 661 toises and a half (or 6 furlongs and 90 yards): eight Grecian feet make 7 French feet 6 inches 8 lines (8 feet and about half an inch Eng.) † Three Grecian feet make 2 French feet 10 inches (3 feet Eng.) and 20 cubits, 28 feet 4 inches (30 feet 2 inches Eng.) It seems probable that this excavation was at first intended for a road; but that it having afterward been resolved to bring to Samos the waters of a spring the level of which was lower than the cavern, advantage was taken of the labour already performed, and the channel above mentioned dug. [o] Herod. lib. 3. c. 60. Tournef. Voyage, t. i. p. 419. [p] Herodot. ibid. ‡ Twenty orgyiæ are 118 French feet 4 inches (102 feet 9 inches Eng.); two stadia are 469 toises (102 yards Eng.) [q] Strab. lib. 14. page 687. [r] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 4. p. 530. Menodot. ap. Athen. lib. 15. c. 6. p. 472.

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architect Rhœcus. It is of the Doric order.[s] I have not seen one more vast,[t] though there are some which are more elegant.* It is situate not far from the sea, on the banks of the Imbrasus, in the very place which was honoured by the birth of the goddess; for it is, in fact, believed that she was born under one of those shrubs named *agnus castus*, which grow in great numbers on the banks of the river. This celebrated and revered edifice has always been in possession of the privilege of asylum.[u]

The statue of Juno presents us with the first attempts of sculpture: it is by the hand of Smilis, one of the most ancient artists of Greece.[x] The priest who accompanied us told us that, before, an unshapen log had received in these holy places the worship of the Samians;[y] that the gods were then every where represented by the trunks of trees, and stones, either square or of a conical form;[z] that these rude images still subsist, and even are worshipped in many temples, both ancient and modern, where they are attended by priests as ignorant as those barbarous Scythians who adore a cimeter.

[s] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7. p. 124. [t] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 60. * The ruins of an ancient temple are still to be seen at Samos: but it appears that they are not the remains of that of which Herodotus speaks. See Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 422. Pocock, Observ. vol. 2. par. 2. p. 27. M. le Comte d'Choiseul Gouffier, Voyag. Pittor. de la Grèce, t. i. p. 100. [u] Cicer. in Ver. act. 2. lib. 1. c. 19. t. iv. p. 165. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. c. 14. [x] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 4. p. 531. [y] Callim. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3. c. 8. p. 99. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 40. [z] Tacit. Hist. lib. 2. c. 3. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 22. p. 579. Pittur. Antich. d'Ercol. t. iii. tavol. 52. p. 273. Coins of Paphos, &c.

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Though somewhat piqued at this reflection, I mildly replied, that the trunks of trees and stones were never the immediate objects of worship, but only arbitrary signs, around which the nation assembled to address its vows to the Divine Being. That is not sufficient, replied he; the Divinity must be represented with a body similar to the human, but with features more beauteous and august. Observe with what veneration the people prostrate themselves before the statutes of Jupiter at Olympia, and of Minerva at Athens. That is, replied I, because they are covered with gold and ivory. By representing the gods after our image, instead of elevating the minds of the people, you have only sought to make impression on their senses; and hence is it that their piety only increases in proportion to the grandeur, beauty, and riches of the objects presented to their veneration. Embellish your Juno; and, however rude the ornaments may be, you will find the offerings multiply.

To this the priests assented. We asked him what was the meaning of the two peacocks of brass placed at the foot of the statue.[a] He told us that these birds are natives of Samos; that they have been consecrated to Juno; that they are represented on the current coin of the state; and that from this island they have passed into the rest of Greece.[b] We also asked what was intended by a pot or box in which

[a] Coins of Samos. [b] Antiphan. et Menod. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 20. p. 655.

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shrub grew.[c] That, replied he, is the same *agnus castus* which served as a cradle to the goddess. It still retains its freshness, added he, though it is older than the olive of Athens, the palm of Delos, the oak of Dodona, the wild olive of Olympia, the plane-tree which Agamemnon planted with his own hands at Delphi,[d] and all those sacred trees which have been preserved in different temples during so many ages.*

We asked why the goddess was represented in a nuptual robe. He replied—Because at Samos she was espoused to Jupiter; the proof of which is incontestable, for we have a festival in which we celebrate the anniversary of the marriage.[e] It is celebrated, likewise, said Stratonicus, in the city of Cnossus, in Crete; and the priests there have assured me that the nuptials of the goddess were consummated on the banks of the river Theron.[f] I must likewise remind you that the priestesses of Argos endeavour to deprive your island of the honour of having given birth to the goddess;[g] as other countries dispute with each other that of having been the native place of Jupiter.[h] In fact, I should not be a little embar-

[c] Coin of Gordian in the cabinet of the king of France. [d] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 14. Plin. lib. 16. c. 44. t. ii. p. 40. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 23. p. 643. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. c. 1. t. iii. p. 115. * It seems probable that all these trees were in boxes or pots. I presume so from that of Samos, which on the coin above mentioned is represented in a box or pot on the steps of the vestibule. See the plate of Coins. No. 6. [e] Var. ap. Lactan. de Fals. Relig. lib. 1. c. 17. t. i. p. 75. [f] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 339. [g] Strab. lib. 9. p. 413. [h] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 33. p. 361.

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rassed if I had to sing to my lyre either their birth or their marriage. You surely would not, replied our companion; you would follow the tradition of the country in which you were; for poets certainly are not apt to be burdened with such scruples.

But at least, replied I, the ministers of the altars of the gods ought to pay greater attention to them. To adopt false and absurd opinions, shows only a want of knowledge; but to embrace such as are contradictory and impossible, argues a deficiency of reason, and leaves no room to reproach the Scythians for worshipping a cimeter.

You appear to me intelligent, replied the priest, and I shall reveal to you our secret. When we speak of the birth of the gods, we mean the time when their worship was received in a country; and by their marriage we signify the æra when the worship of one deity was associated with that of another.[i] And what do you understand by their death? said Stratonicus; for I have seen the tomb of Jupiter in Crete.[k] We have recourse to another solution, replied the priest. The gods sometimes manifest themselves to men under a human form; and, after having passed some time with them to instruct them disappear, and return to heaven.[l] It is in Crete especially that they have formerly been accustomed to descend, and from

[i] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 146. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 17; t. xxiii. Hist. p. 22. [k] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 21. t. ii. p. 504. Origen. Cont. Cels. lib. 3. t. i. p. 475. [l] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 20. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxvi. p. 292.

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thence they have departed to traverse the earth.[m] We were about to reply, but he prudently thought proper to retire.

We afterward took notice of that multitude of statues by which the temple is surrounded; and contemplated with admiration three of colossal size, by the hand of the celebrated Myron,[n] placed on the same base, and representing Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules.* We saw also the Apollo of Telecles and Theodorus; two artists who, having acquired the principles of their art in Egypt, learned from their masters to labour in concert to execute one same work. The former dwelt at Samos, the latter at Ephesus. After having agreed on the proportions of the figure, the one undertook the upper part of it, and the other the lower; and these, when finished, so exactly corresponded, that any person would have believed them the work of the same artist.[o] It must nevertheless be confessed that the art of sculpture, not having at that time made any great progress, this Apollo is more to be admired for the accuracy of the proportions than the beauty and finished execution of the parts.

The Samian who gave us this information added: Towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenian fleet, under the command of Alcibiades,

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. page 344. [n] Strab. lib. 14. page 637. * Mark Antony caused them to be carried to Rome; and some time after Augustus sent two of them back to Samos, and only kept the Jupiter. (Strab. lib. 14. p. 637.) [o] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 88.

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cruised on our coasts. He favoured the party of the people, who caused this statue to be erected to him.[p] Some time after, Lysander, who commanded the Lacedæmonian fleet, made himself master of Samos, and restored the authority of the rich citizens, who sent his statue to the temple of Olympia.[q] Two Athenian generals, afterwards, returned with superior forces; and these are the two statues which the people erected to them;[r] and there is the place where we intend to erect one to Philip, when he shall seize on our island. We ought to blush at this meanness; but the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, and the greater part of the Grecian states on the continent, without even excepting the Athenians, are equally guilty of it. The hatred which has always subsisted between the rich and the poor has every where destroyed the resources of honour and virtue. He concluded in these words: A people, who, during two centuries, have exhausted their blood and treasure to obtain a few moments of liberty which they have found to weigh heavier on them, even than slavery, are excusable if they seek tranquillity, especially when the conqueror requires only money and a statue.

The Samians are the richest and most powerful people of all the states which compose the Ionian confederation;[s] they are very intelligent, industrious, and active; and their history therefore furnishes many interesting particulars for that of literature,

[p] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 460. [q] Plat. in Lysand. t. i. p. 440. Pausan. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 459. [r] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 460. [s] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 167.

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arts, and commerce. Among the celebrated men, whom the island has produced, I shall mention Creophylus, who merited, it is said, the gratitude of Homer, by receiving him in his poverty; and that of posterity, by preserving to us his works.[t] Nor can I forget Pythagoras, whose name would be sufficient to reflect new splendour on the most illustrious age, and the greatest empire. After the latter, but in a much inferior rank, we shall place two of his contemporaries, Rhœcus and Theodorus,[u] able sculptors for their time; who, after having, as it is said, brought to perfection the rule, the level, and other useful instruments,[x] discovered the secret of forging iron statues,[y] and new methods of casting those of copper.[z]

The Samian earth not only possesses properties which are of use in medicine,[a] but a number of workmen are continually employed in making vessels of it, which are every where in great request.[b]

The Samians early applied themselves to navigation, and formerly had a settlement in Upper Egypt.[c] It is now about three centuries since one of their merchant ships, on its passage to Egypt, was driven, by contrary winds, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, to the island of Tartessus, situate on the coasts of

[t] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Callim. t. i. p. 188. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 330. [u] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 533. [x] Plin. lib. 7. c. 56. t. i. p. 414. [y] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 237. [z] Id. lib. 8. c. 14. p. 629; lib. 10. c. 38. p. 896. Plin. lib. 35. c. 12. t. ii. p. 710. [a] Hippocr. de Nat. Mulier. t. ii. p. 379. Plin. lib. 35. c. 16. p. 717. [b] Cicer. pro Mur. c. 36. t. v. p. 233. Plin. lib. 35. t. ii. p. 711. [c] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 26.

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Iberia, and till then unknown to the Greeks. Gold there was extremely plentiful; and the inhabitants, who were ignorant of its value, parted with it very readily to their foreign visitors, who carried home riches to the amount of sixty talents,* at that time esteemed an immense sum, and which it would have been difficult to raise in any part of Greece. The tenth of this was appropriated to dedicate, in the temple of Juno, a large cratera of bronze, which is still preserved there. The rims of it are ornamented with heads of griphons; and it is supported by three colossal statues, in a kneeling posture, of the proportion of seven cubits† in height. This group is also of bronze.[d]

Samos has not since neglected to increase and exercise her navy. Formidable fleets have frequently sailed from her ports, and defended for some time her liberty against the efforts of the Persians and the powers of Greece, anxious to re-unite her to their dominions.[e] But more than once she has become a prey to internal dissensions, which, after long and violent struggles, have ended in the establishment of tyranny. This happened in the time of Polycrates, who had received from nature great endowments, and from his father Æaces great riches. The latter had usurped the sovereign power, and his son resolved to seize it also in his turn.[f] He communicated his

* 324,000 livres. (13,500*l.*) † About 10 feet French (10 feet 7 inches and a half English.) [d] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 152. [e] Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. [f] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 39.

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intentions to his two brothers, who imagined they were admitted into the conspiracy as his associates, when they were only his tools. On the day on which the festival of Juno was celebrated, their partisans having taken their station in the posts assigned them, some of them fell upon the Samians assembled round the temple of the goddess, while others seized on the citadel, and kept possession of it, with the assistance of some troops sent by Lygdamis the tyrant of Naxos.[g] The island was divided between the three brothers, and soon after fell entirely under the power of Polycrates, who condemned one of them to death and the other to banishment.[h]

To hold people in subjection, sometimes by amusing them with festivals and shows,[i] and sometimes by employing violence and cruelty;[k] to prevent them from feeling the oppression they suffered, by leading them to splendid conquests; to conceal from them their strength, by subjecting them to fatiguing labours;[l]* to seize on the revenues of the state,[m] and sometimes on the possessions of individuals; to surround his person with guards and a body of foreign troops;[n] to shut himself up, in case of need, in a strong citadel,; artfully to deceive mankind, and sport

[g] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. c. 23. [h] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 39.
[i] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 10. p. 541. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 85.
[l] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 11. t. ii. p. 407. * Aristotle says, that in despotic governments the people are made to labour in public works, to hold them in subjection. Among other examples he mentions the conduct of Polycrates, and of the kings of Egypt who built the pyramids (De Rep. ubi supra.) [m] Herod. lib. 3. c. 142. [n] Id. ibid. c. 39, &c.

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with the most sacred oaths:[o] such were the principles by which Polycrates governed his conduct after his elevation to the throne. The history of his reign may be entitled: The art of government, for the use of tyrants.

His riches enabled him to fit out a hundred galleys, which procured him the empire of the sea, and subjected to his authority many of the neighbouring islands, and some cities of the continent.[p] His generals were secretly ordered to bring to him the spoils not only of his enemies, but also of his friends, who afterwards solicited and received them from his hands, as a pledge of his affection or his generosity.[q]

During peace the inhabitants of the island and the prisoners of war, together or separately, added new works to the fortifications of the capital, dug ditches around its walls; and, within them, erected those monuments which embellished Samos, and which were executed by artists whom Polycrates had brought into his states at a great expense.[r]

Equally attentive to promote the advancement of literature, he invited to his court those who cultivated it, and collected in his library the noblest works of the human mind.[s] A striking contrast was then seen between Philosophy and Poetry. While Pythagoras, unable to bear the sight of a barbarous despot, fled

[o] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 437. [p] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 39. 122, &c. [q] Id. ibid. c. 39. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1. cap. 23. [r] Athen. lib. 12. c. 10. p. 540. [s] Id. lib. 1. p. 3.

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from his oppressed country,[t] Anacreon brought to Samos the Graces and Pleasures. He without difficulty obtained the friendship of Polycrates,[u] and celebrated him on his lyre[x] with the same ardour that he would have sung the most virtuous of princes.

Polycrates, wishing to multiply in his states the most beautiful species of domestic animals, produced dogs from Epirus and Lacedæmon, pigs from Sicily, goats from Scyros and Naxos, and sheep from Miletus and Athens.[y] But as he did good only from ostentation, he introduced at the same time among his subjects the luxury and vices of the Asiatics. He knew that at Sardes, the capital of Lydia, women of distinguished beauty assembled together were occupied in refining on the delicacies of the table and the different kinds of pleasure.[z] Samos saw a similar society formed within her walls, and *the flowers* of that city became as famous as those of the Lydians; for by that name were called those societies in which the youth of both sexes, giving and receiving lessons of intemperance, passed their days and nights in feasting and debauchery.[a] The corruption spread among the other citizens, and became fatal to their descendants. It is also said that the discoveries of the Samian women were insensibly introduced among

[t] Aristox. ap. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. p. 13. Iamblic. de Vit. Pythag. c. 2. p. 8; c. 18. p. 73. [u] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 121. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 4; lib. 12. c. 25. [x] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. [y] Cleit. et Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 540. [z] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 12. p. 545. [a] Erasm. Adag. in Flor. chil. 2. cent. 9. p. 553.

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the other Greeks, and every where tainted the purity of manners.[b]

In the mean time many of the inhabitants of the island having murmured against these dangerous innovations, Polycrates caused them to embark on board the fleet which carried troops that were to join the army which Cambyses, king of Persia, was marching into Egypt. He entertained hopes that they would fall in battle, or at least that Cambyses would never suffer them to return. Informed of his designs, they resolved to anticipate them, and deliver their country from a shameful slavery. Instead of proceeding to Egypt, they returned to Samos, but were repulsed. Some time after they again returned, in conjunction with troops from Lacedæmon and Corinth: but this attempt succeeded no better than the former.[c]

Polycrates seemed to have nothing more to wish: every year of his reign, and almost every enterprise in which he had engaged, had been signally fortunate.[d] His subjects had become accustomed to the yoke. They esteemed themselves honoured by his victories, his splendour, and the magnificent edifices he erected at their expense. Attached to their sovereign by such a display of grandeur, they forgot the murder of his brother, his usurpation, his cruelties and perjuries. He himself no longer remembered the sage advice of Amasis, king of Egypt, with whom

[b] Duris, Asius et Heracl. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 4. p. 525. Clearch. ap. eund. lib. 12. c. 10. p. 540. Casaub. ibid. [c] Herodot. lib. cap. 44, &c. [d] Val. Max. lib. 6. c. 9. Extern. No. 5.

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he had for some time been united by the ties of hospitality, and who had once written to him in the following terms: "I am alarmed at your uninterrupted prosperity: I would wish those who are connected with me to experience a mixture of good and ill fortune; for there is a jealous divinity, who will not permit any mortal to enjoy perfect and perpetual felicity. Endeavour to procure to yourself some suffering or mortification, to oppose to the unremitted favours of Fortune." Polycrates, alarmed at these reflections, resolved to fortify his happiness by a sacrifice which would cost him some moments of chagrin. He wore on his finger an emerald set in gold, on which Theodorus, of whom I have already spoken, had engraven I know not what subject; * and which was the more valuable as the art of engraving gems was then only in its infancy among the Greeks. He went on board a galley, sailed out to some distance from the coast, and threw his ring into the sea. But a few days after he received it again from one of his officers, who had found it in the belly of a fish. He hastened to inform Amasis of the circumstance, who from that moment desisted from all intercourse with him.[e]

The forebodings of Amasis were at length accomplished. While Polycrates was forming plans for the conquest of Iönia and the islands of the Ægean Sea, the satrap of a province contiguous to his states, and subject to the king of Persia, found means to allure

* See note XX. at the end of the volume. [e] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 40, &c. Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. Plin. lib. 33. c. 1. t. ii. p. 605; lib. 37. c. 1. p. 764. Pausan. lib. 8. c. 14. p. 629.

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him to the government; and, after having put him to death by horrid tortures,[f] ordered his body to be fastened to a cross on Mount Mycale, in front of Samos.*

After his death the inhabitants of the island successively experienced every kind of tyranny; that of a single person, that of the rich citizens, that of the multitude, that of the Persians, and that of the principal states of Greece. The wars between Lacedæmon and Athens by turns gave the ascendency to the oligarchy and the democracy.[g] Each revolution glutted the vengeance of one party, and prepared the way for the vengeance of the other. The inhabitants exhibited the greatest courage in the famous siege which they sustained, during nine months, against the forces of Athens, under the command of Pericles. Their resistance was obstinate, and their losses almost irreparable. They consented to demolish their walls, to surrender their ships, to give hostages, and to reimburse the expenses of the war.[h] Both the besiegers and the besieged treated with equal cruelty the prisoners who fell into their hands. The Samians branded theirs in the forehead with the figure of an owl; and the Athenians those they took with that of the prow of a ship.[i]†

[f] Herodot. ibid. c. 125. Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. c. 30. t. ii. p. 230. Val. Max. lib. 6. c. 9. Extern. No. 5. * Polycrates died about the year 522 before Christ. [g] Thucyd. lib. 8. c. 73. [h] Id. lib. 1. c. 117. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 89. [i] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 166. † The Athenian coins usually have on them an owl, and those of the Samians the prow of a ship.

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They afterwards recovered from these misfortunes, but fell again under the power of the Lacedæmonians, who banished the favourers of the democracy.[k] At length the Athenians, having become masters of the island, divided it, some years since, into two thousand portions, which they assigned by lot to as many colonists, whom they appointed to cultivate them.[l] Among the number of these was Neocles, who went to settle there with Chærestrate his wife.[m] Though they possessed only a moderate fortune, they obliged us to accept apartments in their house. The civility and attention with which we were treated by them, and the rest of the inhabitants, induced us to prolong our stay at Samos.

Sometimes we crossed the arm of the sea which separates the island from the coast of Asia, and took the diversion of hunting on Mount Mycale:[n] and sometimes that of fishing at the foot of the same mountain near the place where the Greeks gained, over the fleet and army of Xerxes, that famous victory which completely restored tranquillity to Greece.* In the night-time we lighted torches, and kindled a number of fires,[o] the brightness of which, reflected by the waves, made the fish approach the boats, and be caught in our nets, or wounded and taken with our pikes. Stratonicus, in the mean time, sung the battle of Mycale, accompanying his voice

[k] Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 440. [l] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Diod. Sic. lib. 18. p. 593. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iv. p. 26. [m] Diog. Laërt. lib. 10. § 1. [n] Strab. lib. 14. p. 636. * The year 479 before Christ. [o] Plat. Soph. t. i. p. 220.

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with the cithara: but he was continually interrupted, for our boatmen would insist on recounting to us all the particulars of the fight. They talked all together; and though it was so dark it was impossible to discern objects, they pointed out to us different parts of the horizon. Here, said they, was the Grecian fleet, there the Persian. The former came to Samos; and as it approached the enemy, the Phœnician galleys fled, and those of the Persians took refuge under that promontory, near the temple of Ceres, which you see before us.[p] The Greeks landed, and were astonished to find on the shore the innumerable army of the Persians, and their allies. They were commanded by one Tigranes.[q] He disarmed a body of Samians he had with him,[r] because he was afraid of them. The Athenians attacked on this side; the Lacedæmonians on that.[s] The camp was taken, and the greater part of the barbarians fled. Their ships were burnt; forty thousand soldiers were slain, and Tigranes among the rest.[t] The Samians had prevailed on the Greeks to pursue the Persians' fleet:[u] the Samians during the battle having found arms, fell upon the Persians.[x] To the Samians are the Greeks indebted for the noblest victory they ever gained over the Persians. Our boatmen, while they gave us this account, danced, threw their caps up into the air, and gave loud shouts of joy.

[p] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 97. [q] Id. ibid. c. 96. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 27. [r] Herodot. ibid. c. 99. [s] Id. ibid. c. 102. [t] Id. ibid. [u] Id. ibid. c. 90. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 28 [x] Herodot. ibid. p. 103.

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Fishing is practised in various ways; some take fish with the line; that is, they have a long reed or rod, at the extremity of which is a horse-hair line, with a hook, on which they put the bait, fastened to the end of it:[y] others dexterously pierce them with darts that have two or three points, and are named harpoons or tridents: and others take them in different kinds of nets,[z] some of which are furnished with leaden plummets that sink them in the water, and pieces of cork that buoy them up on its surface.[a]

The manner of fishing for tunny especially engaged our attention. A long and very large net had been extended along the shore. We repaired to the spot at the break of day, when a profound calm seemed to reign throughout all nature. One of the fisherman, lying flat on a neighbouring rock,[b] kept his eyes fixed on the almost transparent waves, till he perceived a shoal of tunnies quietly following the windings of the coast, and entering the net by an opening contrived for that purpose; when immediately giving the signal to his companies, they divided into two companies, one of which drew the net, while the others beat the water with their oars, to prevent the fish from escaping. A great number were taken, many of them of an enormous size: one weighed about fifteen talents.[c]*

[y] Plat. Soph. t. i. p. 220. Theocrit. Idyll. 21. v. 11. Poll. lib. 1. c. 9. § 97. [z] Plat. ibid. Oppian. de Piscat. lib. 3. v. 72. [a] Pind. Pyth. 2. v. 146. [b] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 313. Schol. ibid. [c] Archestr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 301. Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. c. 30. t. i. p. 921. Plin lib. 9. t. i. p. 505.

* About 772 pounds (834 pounds English avoirdupois.)

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On our return from a little excursion which we had made to the coast of Asia, we found Neocles employed in making preparations for an entertainment. Chærestrate, his wife, had been brought to bed some days before; and he had just given a name to his son, whom he had called Epicurus.* On these occasions it is customary with the Greeks to invite their friends to an entertainment. The company was numerous and select. I was placed at one end of the table, between an Athenian who talked a great deal, and a Samian who said nothing.

Among the other guests the conversation was very loud and noisy; with us it was at first vague, and without any determinate object, but afterward more connected and serious. It turned, I know not on what occasion, on the world and society. After some common-place remarks, the opinion of the Samian was asked; who replied, I shall content myself with giving you that of Pythagoras. He compared the scene of the world to that exhibited at the Olympic games, to which some resort to combat, others to traffic, and others to be merely spectators.[d] Thus the ambitious and the conquerors are our combatants; the greater part of men exchange their time

* This is the celebrated Epicurus, born in the Archonship of Sosigenes (Diog. Laërt. lib. 10. § 14.), in the 3d year of the 109th Olympiad, on the 7th of Gamelion; that is to say, the 11th of January of the year 341 before Christ. Menander was born in the same year. [d] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 5. cap. 3. tom. ii. p. 362. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 8. Iambl. Vit. Pythag. cap. 12. p. 44.

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and labour for the goods of Fortune; and the sages calmly observe all that passes, and are silent.

At these words I surveyed him with greater attention. He had a placid air, and was of grave deportment. He was habited in a white robe, extremely neat and clean.[e] I successively offered him wine, fish; a slice of beef,[f] and a plate of beans: but he refused them all. He drank only water, and ate only vegetables. The Athenian said to me in a whisper, He is a rigid Pythagorean; and immediately raising his voice, We are to blame, said he, for eating these fish; for originally we dwelt, like them, in the depths of the ocean. Yes, our first progenitors were fish; it cannot be doubted, for it has been asserted by the philosopher Anaximander.[g] The doctrine of the metempsychosis makes me scrupulous of eating meat; for, when I regale on the flesh of this ox, I am perhaps an anthropophagist. As to beans, they are the substance which contains the largest portion of that animated matter of which our souls are particles.[h] Take the flowers of the bean when they begin to grow black; put them in a vessel, and bury it in the ground; and if at the end of ninety days you open it, you will find at the bottom the head of the child.[i] Pythagoras himself has made the experiment.

Loud bursts of laughter now broke forth at the expense of my neighbour, who still continued silent.

[e] Aristot. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 19. [f] Aristot. ap. eund. ibid. § 20. [g] Plut. Simpos. lib. 8. quæst. 8. t. ii. p. 730. [h] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 24. [i] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 44.

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They press you very closely, said I to him. I am sensible of it, answered he; but I shall make no reply. I should be to blame to reason gravely at this moment. To refute ridicule seriously, is only to become still more an object of ridicule. But I shall not be exposed to this danger with you. Neocles has explained to me the motives which have induced you to undertake such long voyages; I know you love the truth, and I shall not be unwilling to declare it to you. I accepted his offer, and after supper we had the following conversation.

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NOTES.

Note I.—Chap. lxii.—Page 5.

On Aristotle's Treatise on the Republic.

Aristotle has observed in this work nearly the same order as in those which he has written on animals. (*a*) After laying down some general principles, he treats of the different forms of governments, of their constituent parts, their variations, the causes of their decline, the means by which they are maintained, &c. &c. He discusses all these points, incessantly comparing various constitutions with each other, to show their resemblance and difference, and continually supporting his reflections by examples. If I had confined myself to follow his method, I must have abridged, book by book, and chapter by chapter, a work which is itself only an extract; but as I wished merely to give an idea of the doctrine of the author, I have endeavoured, with much more labour, to bring together the ideas of the same kind scattered through the work, and relative, some to the difference in the forms of government, and others to the best of those forms. Another reason determined me to adopt this plan: the Treatise on the Republic, such as we now have it, is divided into several books; and some eminent critics have asserted, that this division was not made by the author, and that the original order of these books has been changed by the copyists. (*b*)

(*a*) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. t. ii. p. 366. (*b*) Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. ii. p. 157.

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Note ii.—Same Chap.—Page 7.

On the Titles of King and Tyrant.

Xenophon makes the same distinction between a king and a tyrant as Aristotle. The former, says he, is a prince who governs according to the laws, and with the consent of his people; whereas the government of the latter is arbitrary, detested by the people, and not founded on the laws.(*c*) See also what Plato, (*d*) Aristippus, (*e*) and others have observed on this subject.

Note iii.—Same Chap.—Page 51.

On a Law of the Locrians in Italy.

Demosthenes (*f*) tells us that, during two centuries, no alteration was made in the laws of this people. According to one of these laws, he who struck out the eye of another was to lose one of his own. A Locrian having threatened to strike out the eye of a person who had but one, the latter represented, that his enemy, though he should undergo the punishment of retaliation inflicted by the law, would by no means suffer equally with himself. It was therefore resolved, that in such a case the offender should lose both his eyes.

Note iv.—Chap. lxvii.—Page 183.

On the Irony of Socrates.

I have said but little of the irony of Socrates, because I am persuaded he did not make so frequent and severe a use of this figure as Plato has represented. To be convinced of this, we need only read the conversations of Socrates, as related by Xenophon, and those which Plato has attributed to him. In the former, Socrates expresses himself with a gravity, which

(*c*) Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 813. (*d*) Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 276.
(*e*) Aristip. ap. Stob. serm. 48. p. 344. (*f*) Demosth. in Timocr. p. 795.

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we frequently regret not to find in the latter. Both the disciples have introduced their master disputing with the sophist Hippias; (*g*) and if we compare the dialogues they have given us, we shall distinctly perceive the difference of which I speak. Xenophon, however, was present at that which he has transmitted to us.

Note v.—Same Chap.—Page 211.

On the Regret which it has been pretended the Athenians testified after the Death of Socrates.

Some authors, posterior to Socrates by several centuries, have assured us, that, immediately after his death, the Athenians, afflicted by a contagious malady, were convinced of the injustice they had committed; (*h*) that they erected a statue to him; that, without deigning to hear his accusers, they put to death Melitus, and banished the others; (*i*) and that Anytus was stoned at Heraclea, where his tomb was to be seen a long time after. (*k*) Others have related that the accusers of Socrates, unable to endure the public detestation, hanged themselves in despair. (*l*) But it is impossible to reconcile these traditions with the total silence of Xenophon and Plato, who did not die till long after their master, and who no where speak either of the repentance of the Athenians or the punishment of his accusers. Xenophon, who survived Anytus, positively assures us, that the memory of the latter was not respected among the Athenians, either on account of the irregularities of his son, whose education he had neglected, or the folly and impropriety of his own conduct. (*m*) This passage, if I am not mistaken, incontrovertibly proves, that the people of Athens never revenged on Anytus the death of Socrates.

(*g*) Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 804. Plat. t. i. p. 363; t. iii. p. 281.
(*h*) Argum. in Busir. Isocr. t. ii. p. 149. (*i*) Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 266. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 43. Menag. ibid. (*k*) Themist. Orat. 20. p. 239.
(*l*) Plut. de Invid. t. ii. p. 538. (*m*) Xenoph. Apol. p. 707.

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Note vi.—Chap. lxviii.—Page 224.

On the Place which, at Eleusis, was the Scene both of the Ceremonies and Spectacles.

On this question I am only able to give some slight elucidations.

Ancient authors inform us, that the festivals of Ceres sometimes brought to Eleusis thirty thousand of the initiated, (*n*) without including those who only came from motives of curiosity. These were not present at all the ceremonies. To the more secret, no doubt, were only admitted the small number of novices who every year received the last seal of initiation, and some of those who had received it long before.

The temple, which is one of the largest in Greece, (*o*) was built in the middle of a court inclosed by a wall, 360 feet in length from north to south, and 301 broad from east to west. (*p*)* There, if I am not mistaken, was it, that the mystæ, or initiated, with torches in their hands, performed their dances and evolutions.

Behind the temple, on the western side, is still to be seen a terrace, cut in the rock itself, and raised eight or nine feet above the floor of the temple. Its length is about 270 feet, and its breadth in some places 44. At the northern end are to be seen the remains of a chapel, to go up into which there were several steps. (*q*)

I conjecture, that on this terrace was exhibited the scenery of which I have spoken in this chapter: that it was divided lengthwise into three great galleries; the two first of which represented the region of trial, and that of the infernal shades; and the third, covered with earth, presented groves and meadows to the view of the initiated, who from thence went up into the

(*n*) Herodot. lib. 8. c. 65. (*o*) Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p. 125. (*p*) Wood, Not. MSS. Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42. p. 190. * The English measures in Chandler's Travels are 387 feet in length, and 328 in breadth. T. (*q*) Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42. p. 190. Note of M. Foucherot.

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chapel, where their eyes were dazzled with the splendour of the statue of the goddess.

Note vii.—Same Chap.—Page 224.

On certain Words used in the Mysteries of Ceres.

Meursius (*r*) has said, that the assembly was dismissed by these two words, *konx ompax*. Hesychius, (*s*) who has transmitted them to us, only says, that they were an acclamation to the initiated. I have not mentioned them, because I do not know whether they were pronounced at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the ceremony.

Le Clerc tells us, that they signified *watch and abstain from evil*. Instead of directly attacking this interpretation, I shall content myself with presenting to the reader the answer which I wrote, in the year 1766, to my learned friend M. Larcher, who had done me the honour to request my opinion on this expression. (*t*)

"It is manifest that the two words κονξ ομπαξ are not Greek; "but in what language ought we to seek them? I should incline "to think they are Egyptian, because the Eleusinian mysteries "appear to me to have been brought from Egypt. To arrive "at their true meaning, it would be necessary, first, that we "should be better acquainted with the ancient Egyptian lan- "guage, of which we have only some small remains in the "Coptic; and, secondly, that the words in question, by passing "from one language into another, should not have suffered in "their pronunciation; nor, by having been transcribed by a "multitude of copyists, undergone any alteration from their "original orthography.

"We may, indeed, have recourse to the Phœnician tongue, "which had a considerable affinity with the Egyptian. This "has been done by Le Clerc, who, after the example of Bochart, "found the explanation of every thing in the Phœnician lan- "guage. But ten different meanings of these two words might "be given, all equally probable, that is to say, all equally "uncertain. There is nothing which may more easily be

(*r*) Meurs in Eleus. c. 11. (*s*) Hesych. in Κονξ. (*t*) Supplement à la Philosophie de l'Histoire, p. 373.

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" accommodated to the wishes of the etymologist than the " oriental languages, and this it is which has led astray the " greater part of those who have addicted themselves to that " study.

" You see, sir, how far I am from being able to say any thing " positive on the subject, and how little I deserve the honour you " have done me in requesting my opinion, since I can only " answer you by a confession of my ignorance."

NOTE VIII.—SAME CHAP.—PAGE 225.

On the Secret Doctrine.

WARBURTON has endeavoured to prove, that the secret of the mysteries was no other than the doctrine of the unity of God; and, in support of his opinion, has produced a poetical fragment, cited by several fathers of the church, and known by the name of the Palinodia of Orpheus. This fragment begins by an expression used in the mysteries—*Far hence, ye profane.* It declares, that there is only one God, who exists from himself, is the source of all existence, and invisible to every eye, though to him all things are visible. (*u*)

If it were proved that the hierophant taught this doctrine to the initiated, no doubt would any longer remain concerning the real object of the mysteries; but this question is attended with many difficulties.

Whether the verses above mentioned were written by Orpheus, or some other author, is of little consequence; but it is of importance to know, whether the date of them be antecedent to Christianity, and whether they were really recited in the ceremonies of initiation.

1. Eusebius has cited them after a Jew, named Aristobulus, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philopator, (*x*) king of Egypt, —that is to say, about the year 200 before Christ; but the reading which he has preserved differs essentially from that found in the works of St. Justin. (*y*) The latter announces one Supreme

(*u*) Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 64. (*x*) Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 13. c. 12. p. 664. (*y*) Justin. Exhort. ad Græc. p. 18; et de Monarch. p. 37.

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Being, who beholds and who is the author of all things, and to whom the name of Jupiter is given. The reading in Eusebius contains the same profession of faith, with some difference in the expressions; but in it mention is made of Moses and Abraham; which has induced some learned critics to conclude, that these verses were fabricated, or at least interpolated, by Aristobulus, or some other Jew. (*z*) But if we reject the interpolation, and prefer the reading in St. Justin, all we shall be able to collect from it is, that the author of these verses, when speaking of a Supreme Being, has expressed himself in nearly the same manner as many ancient writers. It is especially to be remarked, that the principal articles of the doctrine contained in the Palinodia, are found in the hymn of Cleanthes, (*a*) the contemporary of Aristobulus; and in the poem of Aratus (*b*) who lived at the same time, and who appears to have been quoted by St. Paul. (*c*)

2. Was the Palinodia of Orpheus sung in the ceremonies of initiation? Tatian and Athenagoras(*d*) seem indeed to associate it with the mysteries, but they only produce it in opposition to the absurdities of Polytheism. Can we suppose it probable, that these two authors, and the other fathers of the church, when they were endeavouring to prove that the unity of the Deity had always been known to the Gentiles, would have neglected to inform us, that such a profession of faith was made in the ceremonies of initiation at Eleusis?

By depriving Warburton of this powerful argument, I do not mean to attack his opinion, concerning the secret doctrine of the mysteries, which always appeared to me very probable. In fact, it is not easy to suppose, that a religious society which destroyed the objects of the popular worship, which taught the doctrine of rewards and punishments in another life, and which required from its members so many preparations and prayers, and enjoined them abstinence from so many things, joined with the greatest purity of heart, had no other intention than to con-

(*z*) Eschenb. de Poes. Orph. p. 148. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 281. Cudw. Syst. Intell. c. 4. § 17. p. 445. Moshem. ibid. (*a*) Fabric ibid. t. ii. p. 397. (*b*) Arat Phænom. v. 5. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13. c. 12. p. 666. (*c*) Acts, xvii. 28. (*d*) Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 33. Athenag. Legat. pro Christian. in init.

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ceal beneath a thick veil the ancient traditions concerning the formation of the world, the operations of Nature, the origin of arts, and other objects which could only have a slight influence on manners.

It may perhaps be said, that the mysteries were confined to teaching the doctrine of the metempsychosis. But this doctrine which the philosophers did not fear to explain in their writings, supposed a tribunal which, after death, assigned to the souls of men the good or evil destinies which were to be their reward or punishment.

I will add one reflection more. According to Eusebius, (*e*) the hierophant appeared as the Demiourgos, that is to say, the author of the universe. Three priests bore the symbols of the Sun, the Moon, and Mercury; and perhaps some inferior ministers represented the four other planets. However this may be, do we not here perceive the Demiourgos, bringing forth the universe from chaos? and is not this the image of the formation of the world, as Plato has described it in his Timæus.

The opinion of Warburton is extremely ingenious, and supported with much judgment and learning; however, as it is liable to great difficulties, I thought it best to offer it as a mere conjecture.

NOTE IX.—CHAP. LXIX.—PAGE 268.

On the number of Tragedies written by Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

ÆSCHYLUS, according to some, wrote seventy tragedies; (*f*) according to others, ninety. (*g*) The anonymous author of the life of Sophocles, attributes to that poet a hundred and thirteen; Suidas, a hundred and twenty-three; and others, a still greater number. (*h*) Samuel Petit assigns him only sixty-six. (*i*) According to different writers, Euripides wrote seventy-five, or

(*e*) Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 117. (*f*) Anonym. in Vit. Æschyl. (*g*) Suid. in Αἰσχυλ. (*h*) Id. in Σοφοκλ. (*i*) Pet. Leg. Att. p. 71.

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ninety-two; (*k*) and it appears that we ought to decide in favour of the former number. (*l*) Authors likewise differ with respect to the number of prizes that they gained.

NOTE X.—CHAP. LXX.—PAGE 289.

On the Singing and Declamation of the ancient Tragedy.

THE ancients have left us but little light on this subject; and modern critics have been divided in their opinions, when they have undertaken to elucidate it. It has been asserted that the scenes were sung; and it has been affirmed that they were declaimed or recited. Some have added, that the declamation was noted. I shall give in a few words the result of my inquiries.

1. *The actors frequently declaimed in the scenes.* Aristotle speaking of the means employed by certain kinds of poetry to produce imitation, says, that the dithyrambics, the nomi, tragedy, and comedy, made use of rhythm, melody, and verse; with this difference, that the dithyrambics and the nomi employed all the three together, and tragedy and comedy made use of them separately; (*m*) and afterwards he says, that, in the same piece, tragedy sometimes employs metre alone, and sometimes metre accompanied with melody. (*n*)

It is well known that the scenes were usually composed in iambic verse, because this kind of metre is most proper for dialogue. But Plutarch, speaking of the musical execution of the iambic verses, says, that in tragedy some were recited while the instruments played, and that others were sung. (*o*) Declamation was then admitted in the scenes.

2. *The actors sometimes sang in the scenes.* To the proof afforded by the preceding passage in Plutarch, I shall add the following others. Aristotle assures us, that the hypodorian and hypophrygian modes or keys were used in the scenes, though they were not in the choruses. (*p*)

(*k*) Suid. in Εὐριπ. Var ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 17. c. 4. (*l*) Walck. Diatrib. in Euripid. p. 9. (*m*) Aristot. de Poet. c. 1. t. ii. p. 653. B. (*n*) Id. ibid. c. 656. C. (*o*) Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1141, A. Bueret. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. tom. x. p. 253. (*p*) Aristot. Probl. sect. 19. § 48. tom. ii. p. 770. B.

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"When Hecuba and Andromache sing on the stage," says Lucian, "we may pardon them; but for Hercules so far to forget himself as to sing, is an intolerable absurdity."(q) The characters of a piece therefore sang on certain occasions.

3. *Declamation was never used in the interludes, or intervals between the acts, but in these the whole chorus sang.* This proposition is not contested.

4. *The chorus sometimes sang in the course of a scene.* This is proved from the passage in Pollux: "When, instead of a fourth actor, some one of the chorus is made to sing," &c. (r) And likewise by the precept in Horace: "Let the chorus sing nothing between the interludes which is not closely connected with the action:"(s) as also by a number of examples. It will be sufficient to refer to the Agamemnon of Æschylus, from verse 1099 to verse 1186; the Hippolytus of Euripides, from verse 58 to verse 72; the Orestes of the same poet, from verse 140 to verse 207; &c. &c.

5. *The chorus, or rather its coryphæus, sometimes entered into dialogue with the actors; and this dialogue was only declaimed.* This was especially done when the chorus was asked for any explanations, or when itself requested them from one of the persons of the drama: in a word, as often as it immediately participated in the action. See, in the Medea of Euripides, verse 811; in the Supplicants of the same poet, verse 634; in the Iphigenia in Aulis of the same, verse 917, &c.

The first scenes of the Ajax of Sophocles will suffice, if I am not mistaken, to show the manner in which declamation and singing were employed successively.

Scene the first, *Minerva and Ulysses;* scene the second, *the same and Ajax;* scene the third, *Minerva and Ulysses.* These three scenes form the exposition of the subject. Minerva relates to Ulysses, that Ajax, in a fit of frenzy, had killed the shepherds, and slaughtered the flocks, imagining that he sacrificed to his vengeance the chiefs of the army. This is a fact, and is narrated in iambic verses: whence I conclude that the three scenes were declaimed.

Minerva and Ulysses go off, and the chorus enters: it is

(q) Lucian. de Salt. § 27. tom. ii. p. 285.
(r) Poll. lib. 4. cap. 15. § 110.
(s) Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 194.

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composed of Salaminians, who deplore the misfortune of their sovereign, of whose frantic actions they have been informed. The chorus entertains doubts, which it seeks to satisfy. It does not employ the iambic verse. Its style is figurative. It is alone. It expresses itself in a strophe and antistrophe, both containing the same number of verses of the same metre. This, therefore, is what Aristotle calls the first speech of the whole chorus ;(*t*) and, by consequence, the first interlude, which was always sung by all the voices of the chorus.

After the interlude, scene the first, *Tecmessa and the chorus.* This scene, which continues from verse 200 to verse 347, is as it were divided in two parts. In the first, which contains 62 verses, Tecmessa confirms the accounts of the frenzy of Ajax ; her lamentations and those of the chorus follow. The verses are anapœsts. In the part of the chorus is a strophe, with its corresponding antistrophe perfectly resembling it in the number and measure of the verses. I suppose all this to have been sung. The second part of the scene was, no doubt, declaimed ; it only consists of iambic verses. The chorus interrogates Tecmessa, who enters into a circumstantial account of the action of Ajax. The exclamations of Ajax are heard : the door of his tent is opened ; and he appears.

Scene the second, *Ajax, Tecmessa, and the chorus.* This scene, like the preceding, was partly sung and partly declaimed. Ajax (v. 348) sings four strophes, with their corresponding antistrophes. Tecmessa and the chorus reply by two or three iambic verses, which must have been sung, as I shall presently show. After the last antistophe and the answer of the chorus, begin, at verse 430, the iambics, which continue to verse 600, or rather 595. In these the prince, recovered from his delirium, signifies to Tecmessa and the chorus his resolution to put an end to his life : they entreat him to abandon such a design. He asks to see his son, takes him in his arms, and addresses to him an affecting speech. All this is declaimed. Tecmessa goes out with her child ; Ajax remains on the stage, but he observes a profound silence, while the chorus executes the second interlude.

From this examination, which I might carry further, it is

(*t*) Aristot. de Poet. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 662.

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manifest that the chorus was considered under two different points of view, according as it was employed in either of the two distinct functions allotted to it. In the interludes, or intervals between the acts, the whole chorus sang together; in the scenes in which it participated in the action, it was represented by its coryphæus; which explains the expression of Aristotle and Horace, that the chorus sometimes performed the part of an actor. (*u*)

6. *By what marks may the parts of a drama which were sung be distinguished from those which were only recited?* I am not able to lay down rules for this distinction which will apply in every case; I can only say that it appears to me, that declamation had place as often as the interlocutors, following the thread of the action, without the intervention of the chorus, expressed themselves in a long series of iambics, at the head of which the scholiasts have written the word IAMBOI. I incline to believe, but I will not positively assert, that all the other verses were sung. We may, however, in general affirm, that the earlier authors applied themselves more to the melopœia than their successors: (*x*) the reason of which is evident. The dramatic poems deriving their origin from those companies of buffoons who traversed Attica, it was natural for the chant, or singing, to be regarded as the principal part of tragedy in its infancy; (*y*) and hence, no doubt, it is that it prevails more in the pieces of Æschylus and Phrynichus (*z*) his contemporary, than in those of Euripides and Sophocles.

I have said above, on the authority of Plutarch, that the iambic verses were sometimes sung when the chorus performed the part of an actor. We in fact find this kind of verse in irregular stanzas adapted to be sung. Æschylus has often used it in modulated scenes; as, for example, that of the king of Argos and the chorus, in the Supplicants, verse 352: the chorus sings strophes and their corresponding antistrophes; the king replies five times, and each time by five iambic verses; a proof, unless I am mistaken, that all these responses were to the same air. See similar examples in

(*u*) Aristot. de Poet. c. 18. t. ii. p. 666. D. Dacier, ib. p. 312. Horat. de Art. Poet. v. 193. (*x*) Id. Probl. sect. 19. § 31. t. ii. p. 766. (*y*) Athen. lib. 14. c. 7. p. 630. C. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 56. (*z*) Aristot. ibid.

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the pieces of the same author: in the Seven Chiefs, v. 209 and 692; in the Persians, v. 256; in Agamemnon, v. 1099; and in the Supplicants, v. 747 and 883.

7. *Was the declamation noted?* The abbé Du Bos pretends that it was. (*a*) He has been refuted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; (*b*) in which it is proved that the instrument by which the voice of the actor was accompanied, was only employed to support the voice from time to time, and prevent it from rising too high or sinking too low.

NOTE XI.—SAME CHAP.—PAGE 293.

On the Vases of the Theatres.

VITRUVIUS relates that, under the seats on which the spectators sat in the theatres, the Greek architects formed small open cells, in which they placed brazen vessels, intended to receive in their cavities the sounds which came from the stage, and reflect them in a strong, clear, and harmonious manner. These vessels were made so as to sound the fourth, fifth, and octave, one above the other; (*c*) and therefore had the same proportions between themselves as the strings of the lyre which supported the voice; but the effect was not the same. The lyre indicated and supported the tone; the vessels could only reproduce and lengthen it: and what advantage could result from that succession of echoes of which there was nothing to deaden the sound? This I am unable to discover; for which reason I have not spoken of these vessels in the text of my work. I had also another: it is not proved that the Athenians made use of them. Aristotle propounds these questions: Why does a house resound when it has been newly whitened? when empty vessels have been sunk in it; when it has wells or similar cavities? (*d*) It is not necessary to give his answers; but he would certainly have mentioned the vessels of the theatres, if they had been known to him.

(*a*) Du Bos. Reflex. Crit. t. iii. p. 54, &c. (*b*) Mem de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 191. 209. (*c*) Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 5. c. 5. (*d*) Aristot. Probl. sect. 11. § 7, 8, 9, t. ii. p. 736.

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Mummius found them in the theatre of Corinth; but this was two hundred years after the time I have chosen. The custom was afterwards introduced in several cities of Greece and Italy, where earthen vessels were sometimes substituted instead of those of brass. (*e*) Rome never adopted them; the Roman architects, no doubt, perceived that if, on the one hand, they rendered the theatre more sonorous, there were inconveniences, on the other, which counterbalanced this advantage.

Note xii.—Same Chap.—Page 297.

On Callipides.

This actor, who boasted he could draw tears from a whole auditory, (*f*) was so proud of his success and the applauses he received, that, having met Agesilaus, he advanced, saluted him, and joining those who accompanied him, waited for the prince to address him with some compliment: but being disappointed in this expectation, he said to him: King of Lacedæmon, do you not know me? Agesilaus, having surveyed him, coldly asked him if he was not Callipides the stage-player? The talents of the actor appearod to the Spartan to be of little value. It was once proposed to the same Agesilaus to hear a man who could imitate perfectly the song of the nightingale; to which he only answered, "I have heard the nightingale itself." (*g*)

Note xiii.—Same Chap.—Page 303.

On the Masks.

Some years since, a great quantity of silver coins were found at Athens, bearing on one side an indented square, and all of them of rude workmanship, and without legends. I acquired several for the cabinet of the king of France. From the different types they bear, I will not hesitate to affirm they

(*e*) Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 5. c. 5. Plin. lib. 11. c. 51. t. i. p. 643. (*f*) Xenoph. in Conv. p. 880. C. (*g*) Plut. in Agesil. t. i. p. 607. D. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212. E.

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were struck at Athens, or in the neighbouring countries; and that some are of the time of Æschylus, and others more ancient than that poet. Two of them present us with that hideous mask of which I have spoken in the text of my work. The mask was, therefore, in use in the infancy of the dramatic art.

NOTE XIV.—CHAP. LXXI.—PAGE 326.

On the Place of the Scene in which Ajax killed himself.

SEVERAL modern critics have supposed that, in the tragedy of Sophocles, Ajax pierced himself with his sword in the sight of the spectators. They support their opinion by the authority of the scholiast, who observes that the heroes rarely killed themselves on the stage. (*h*) I am of opinion the rule was not violated on this occasion; to be convinced of which it will be sufficient to follow the thread of the action.

The chorus, informed that Ajax is no longer in his tent, (*i*) goes out by the two sides of the theatre, to seek and bring him back. (*k*) The hero re-appears. After an affecting soliloquy, he throws himself on the point of his sword, the hilt of which he had previously fixed in the ground. (*l*) The chorus returns; (*m*) and, while it laments that its researches had been ineffectual, hears the cries of Tecmessa, who has found the body of her husband, (*n*) and advances to behold the fatal spectacle. (*o*) Ajax therefore did not kill himself on the stage.

I have supposed that, by the side of the tent of Ajax, there was an avenue which led to the country, and which was concealed by a curtain, drawn when the chorus went out. It is in this recess that Ajax appeared, and openly declared his last resolution, which gives us the reason why it was said that the part of this hero required a very strong voice. (*p*) At the distance of some paces behind the tent he had fixed his sword. Thus the audience might see and hear him when he recited his soliloquy, yet could not be spectators of his death.

(*h*) Schol. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 826. (*i*) Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 805. (*k*) Ibid. v. 824. (*l*) Ibid. v. 826. (*m*) Ibid. v. 877. (*n*) Ibid. v. 900. (*o*) Ibid. v. 924. 1022. (*p*) Schol. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 875.

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Note xv.—Same Chap.—Page 358.

On the Manner in which the Actor Hegelochus pronounced a Verse of Euripides.

In Greek, Γαληνα (*galena*) signifies a calm, and Γαλην (*galen*) a cat. In the passage in question, Hegelochus should have pronounced *galena oro;* that is to say, *the calm I see.* These two words were pronounced in such a manner that the last syllable of the former, and the first of the latter, were heard at one. The actor being exhausted, and his breath suddenly failing him, was obliged to stop after the word *galena*, the last vowel of which he omitted, and said *galen.... oro;* that is, *a cat.... I see.* (*q*)

Note xvi.—Chap. lxxii.—Page 394.

On the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and the Statue of the Goddess.

In the year 356 before Christ, the temple of Ephesus was burnt by Herostratus. (*r*) Some years after, the Ephesians rebuilt it. It appears that the fire only destroyed the roof, and the parts which were not able to resist its fury. See on this subject an excellent dissertation by the Marquis de Poleni, inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Cortona. (*s*) If we adopt his opinion, we must say that the dimensions of the temple were the same both before and after the time of Herostratus; and its length, according to Pliny, (*t*) was four hundred and twenty-five feet,* its breadth two hundred and twenty feet,† and its height sixty feet.‡ I imagine the feet by Pliny were Grecian feet.

The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple when

(*q*) Eurip. in Orest. v. 279. Schol. ibid. Markl. in Suppl. v. 901. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 306. Schol. ibid. Bruck. ibid. (*r*) Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. (*s*) T. i. part 2. No. 13, 14. p. 21. &c. (*t*) Plin. lib. 36. c. 14. t. ii. p. 740. * 401 feet, 5 inches, 8 lines, Fr. (427 feet, 10 inches, Eng.) † 207 feet, 9 inches, 4 lines, Fr. (221 feet, 5 inches, Eng.) ‡ 56 feet, 8 inches, Fr. (60 feet, 4 inches, Eng.)

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Alexander proposed to them to defray alone the whole expense, on condition that they would ascribe the honour of it to him in an inscription. He received a refusal, for which they easily obtained a pardon, on account of the flattery with which it was accompanied. " It is not suitable to a god," said the deputy of the Ephesians to the king, " to decorate the temple of another divinity."(*u*)

I have only indicated in general the ornaments of the statue, because they differ on the monuments which still remain, and which are posterior to the æra of the travels of Anacharsis. It is even possible that these monuments may not all have relation to the Diana of Ephesus. However this may be, in some of them the upper part of the body, or the sheath which supplies its place, is covered with breasts ; and below are several compartments, separated from each other by a listel, which runs all round, and on which are embossed small figures, representing victories, bees, oxen, stags, and other animals. Sometimes complete figures of lions are fastened to the arms.(*x*) I imagine that, on the statue, these symbols were of gold. Xenophon, who, in his little temple at Scillus, had dedicated a statue of Diana, resembling that of Ephesus, says, that the latter was of gold, and that his was only of cypress.(*y*) As it appears from other authors that the Diana of Ephesus was of wood, it may be presumed that Xenophon only spoke of the ornaments with which it was decorated.

I shall here offer an explanation of a small antique in gold, which was discovered in the territory of the ancient Lacedæmon, and of which Count Caylus has given an engraving in the second volume of his collection of Antiquities.(*z*) The gold of it is of base quality, and alloyed with silver. The workmanship is rude, and of great antiquity. It represents an ox, or rather a stag, sitting on its haunches. The holes made through it evidently show that it was fastened to some more considerable body ; and if we compare it with the different figures of the Diana of Ephesus, we shall the more easily be induced to conclude that it was affixed to some statue, as it

(*u*) Strab. lib. 14. p. 641. (*x*) Menetr. Symbol. Dian. Ephes. Stat. (*y*) Xen. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350. (*z*) Recueil d'Antiq. tom. ii. p. 42. pl. xi.

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weighs only one ounce, one gros, sixty grains (one ounce, four pennyweights, five grains, English troy weight); and as its greatest length is only two inches, two lines, and its greatest height, to the extremity of the horns, three inches, one line. Perhaps it was formerly carried to Lacedæmon; perhaps it was an ornament of one of the statues of Diana in that city, or of that of Apollo at Amyclæ, in the decoration of which the gold was employed that Crœsus sent to the Lacedæmonians.(*a*)

I am of opinion, that the more ornaments the figures of the Diana of Ephesus have, the less ancient they are. Her statue at first only presented a head, arms, feet, and a body in form of a sheath. Afterwards were added to it the symbols of other divinities, and especially those which characterised Isis, Cybele, Ceres, &c.(*b*)

The power of the goddess and the devotion of the people augmenting in the same proportion as her symbols, she was considered by some as the image of productive nature, and by others as one of the greatest divinities of Olympus. Her worship, which had long been known in some distant countries,(*c*) extended into Asia Minor, Syria,(*d*) and Greece properly so called.(*e*) It was in its greatest splendour under the first Roman emperors; and it was then also, that other divinities, having obtained by the same means an increase of power,(*f*) the idea was conceived of those Pantheon figures which are still preserved in cabinets, and which unite the symbols of all the gods.

NOTE XVII.—CHAP. LXXIII.—PAGE 413.

On the Rhodians.

The character which I give of the Rhodians is founded on a number of passages in ancient authors, particularly on the

(*a*) Pausan. lib. 3. c. 10. p. 231. (*b*) Menetr. Symbol. Dian. Ephes. Stat. (*c*) Strab. lib. 4. p. 179, 180. (*d*) Imperial medals of Cyzicus, Philadelphi in Lydia, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Ancyra in Galatia, Neapolis in Palestine, &c. Spanh. de Prest. Numis. t. i. p. 507. Cuper. in Apoth. Homer. p. 250. (*e*) Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 115; lib. 4. c. 31. p. 357. (*f*) Joan. Petr. Bellor. Symbol. Deæ Syr. Simulacr.

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testimonies of esteem they received from Alexander;(g) on the famous siege which they sustained, with so much courage, against Demetrius Poliorcetes, thirty-eight years after the time when I suppose Anacharsis to have visited their island;(h) on the powerful succours which they furnished to the Romans; and on the marks of gratitude which they, in consequence, received from the republic of Rome.(i)

Note XVIII.—Same Chap.—Page 420.

On the Labyrinth of Crete.

I have said but a word on the famous labyrinth of Crete; but the little I have said, it is incumbent on me to justify.

Herodotus has left us a description of that which he had seen in Egypt, near the lake Mœris. It consisted of twelve large contiguous palaces, containing three thousand chambers, fifteen hundred of which were under ground.(k) Strabo, Diodorus, Siculus, Pliny, and Mela, speak of this monument with the same admiration as Herodotus;(l) but not one of them tells us that it was constructed to bewilder those who attempted to go over it, though it is manifest that, without a guide, they would be in danger of losing their way.

It was this danger, no doubt, which introduced a new term into the Greek language. The word labyrinth, taken in the literal sense, signifies a circumscribed space, intersected by a number of passages; some of which cross each other in every direction, like those in quarries and mines, and others make larger or smaller circuits round the place from which they depart, like the spiral lines we see on certain shells.(m) In the figurative sense, it was applied to obscure and captious questions, (n) to indirect and ambiguous answers,(o) and to those discussions, which, after long digressions, bring us back to the point from which we set out.(p)

(g) Diod. Sic. 20. p. 809. (h) Id. ibid. p. 810. Plut. in Demetr. tom. i. p. 898. (i) Liv. lib. 51. cap. 15; lib. 37. c. 12. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. c. 3. (k) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 148. (l) Strab. lib. 17. p. 811. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 55. Plin. lib. 36. c. 13. t. ii. p. 739. Pomp. Mela, lib. 1. c. 9. p. 56. (m) Hesych. Suid. in Etymol. Magn. in Λαβύρ. (n) Lucian. in Fugit. t. iii. p. 371. (o) Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. tom. vi. p. 913. (p) Plat. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 291. B. Lucian. in Icarom. t. ii. p. 786.

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Of what nature was the labyrinth of Crete?

Diodorus Siculus relates as a conjecture, and Pliny as a certain fact, that Dædalus constructed this labyrinth on the model of that of Egypt, though on a less scale.(q) They add, that it was formed at the command of Minos, who kept the Minotaur shut up in it; and that in their time it no longer existed, having been either destroyed by time or purposely demolished.(r) Diodorus Siculus and Pliny, therefore, considered this labyrinth as a large edifice; while other writers represent it simply as a cavern hollowed in the rock, and full of winding passages.(s) The two former authors, and the writers last mentioned, have transmitted to us two different traditions: it remains for us to choose that which is most probable.

If the labyrinth of Crete had been constructed by Dædalus under Minos, whence is it that we find no mention of it, neither in Homer, who more than once speaks of that prince and of Crete, nor in Herodotus, who describes that of Egypt, after having said that the monuments of the Egyptians are much superior to those of the Greeks; nor in the more ancient geographers; nor in any of the writers of the ages when Greece flourished?

This work was attributed to Dædalus, whose name is alone sufficient to discredit a tradition. In fact, his name, like that of Hercules, had become the resource of ignorance, whenever it turned its eyes on the early ages. All great labours, all works which required more strength than ingenuity, were attributed to Hercules; and all those which had a relation to the arts, and required a certain degree of intelligence in the execution, were ascribed to Dædalus. It may be recollected that in the course of this work,* I have already mentioned the principal discoveries in the arts and handicraft trades with which the ancients have honoured an artist of this name.

The opinion of Diodorus and Pliny supposes that in their time no traces of the labyrinth existed in Crete, and that even

(q) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 55; lib. 4. p. 264 et 277. Plin. lib. 36. c. 13. t. ii. p. 739. (r) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 56. (s) Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 11. p. 1688. lin. 51. Etymol. Magn. in Λαβϱ. * See in Chap. XXXVII. (Vol. III.) the account of Sicyon, and the corresponding note.

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the date of its destruction had been forgotten. Yet it is said to have been visited by the disciples of Apollonius of Tyana, who was contemporary with those two authors. (*t*) The Cretans, therefore, then believed that they possessed the labyrinth.

I would request the reader to attend to the following passage in Strabo. "At Nauplia, near the ancient Argos," says that judicious writer, "are still to be seen vast caverns, in which are constructed labyrinths that are believed to be the work of the Cyclops;" (*u*)† the meaning of which is, that the labours of men had opened in the rock passages which crossed and returned upon themselves, as is done in quarries. Such, if I am not mistaken, is the idea we ought to form of the labyrinth of Crete.

Were there several labyrinths in that island? Ancient authors speak only of one, which the greater part place at Cnossus; and some, though the number is but small, at Gortyna. (*x*)

Belon and Tournefort (*y*) have given us the description of a cavern situate at the foot of Mount Ida, on the south side of the mountain, at a small distance from Gortyna. This was only a quarry according to the former, and the ancient labyrinth according to the latter, whose opinion I have followed, and abridged the account he has given in my text. Those who have added critical notes to his work, besides this labyrinth, admit a second at Cnossus, and adduce, as the principal support of this opinion, the coins of that city which represent the plan of it, according as the artists conceived it. For on some of these it appears of a square form: on others round; on some it is only sketched out; on others it has, in the middle of it, the head of the Minotaur.(*z*) In the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, I have given an engraving of one which appears to me to be of about the fifth century before Christ; and on which we see, on one side, the figure of the

(*t*) Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 4. c. 34. p. 174. (*u*) Strab. lib. 8. p. 369 et 373. † I have spoken of them in Chap. LIII. Vol. IV. of this work. (*x*) Meurs. in Cret. lib. 1. c. 2. (*y*) Belon. Observat. liv. c. 6. Tournef. Voyag. tom. i. page 65. (*z*) Coins in the cabinet of the king of France.

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Minotaur; and on the other, a rude plan of the labyrinth. (*a*) It is therefore certain that at that time the Cnossians believed that they were in possession of that celebrated cavern; and it also appears that the Gortynians did not pretend to contest their claim, since they have never given the figure of it on their money.

The place where I suppose the labyrinth of Crete to have been situate, according to Tournefort, (*b*) is but one league distant from Gortyna; and, according to Strabo, (*c*) it was distant from Cnossus six or seven leagues. All we can conclude from this is, that the territory of the latter city extended to very near the former.

What was the use of the caverns to which the name of labyrinth was given? I imagine that they were first excavated in part by nature; that in some places stones were extracted from them for building cities; and that, in more ancient times, they served for a habitation or asylum to the inhabitants of a district exposed to frequent incursions. In the journey of Anacharsis through Phocis, I have spoken of two great caverns of Parnassus, in which the neighbouring people took refuge; in the one at the time of the deluge of Deucalion, and in the other, at the invasion of Xerxes. (*d*) I here add that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the most ancient Cretans dwelt in the caves of Mount Ida. (*e*) The people, when inquiries were made on the spot, said, that their labyrinth was originally only a prison. (*f*) It may have been put to this use; but it is difficult to believe that, to prevent the escape of a few unhappy wretches, such immense labours would have been undertaken.

Note xix.—Chap. lxxiv.—Page 446.

On the Size of the Isle of Samos.

Strabo, Agathemerus, Pliny, and Isidorus, differ with respect to the circumference of the isle of Samos. According to the first, it is 600 stadia, (*g*) or $22\frac{3}{4}$ leagues; according to the second, (*h*) 630 stadia, or nearly 24 leagues; according to Pliny, (*i*) 87 Roman miles, or somewhat more than 26 leagues; according to Isidorus, (*k*) 100 Roman miles (that is, 800 stadia)

(*a*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiv. p. 40. (*b*) Tournef. Voyag. t. i. p. 65. (*c*) Strab. lib. 10. p. 476. (*d*) Chap. XXII. of this work. (*e*) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 334. (*f*) Philoch. ap. Plut. t. i. p. 6. E. (*g*) Strab. lib. 14. p. 637. (*h*) Agath. lib. 1. cap. 5. ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 17. (*i*) Plin. lib. 5. c. 5. 3. p. 286. (*k*) Isid. ap. Plin. ibid.

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or 30¼ leagues. Similar disagreements are frequently found in the measures given by the ancients.

Note xx.—Same Chap.—Page 460.

On the Ring of Polycrates.

According to St. Clemens of Alexandria, this ring represented a lyre.(*l*) The fact is of no great importance; but we may remark with what care the Romans preserved the relics of antiquity. In the temple of Concord at Rome, in the time of Pliny, a sardonyx was shown, which was said to be the ring of Polycrates. It was kept in a golden box, and was a present from Augustus.(*m*) Solinus also gives the name of sardonyx to the gem of Polycrates;(*n*) but it appears by the testimony of other authors, and especially of Herodotus, that it was an emerald.(*o*)

(*l*) Clem. Alex. in Pædag. lib. 3. p. 289. Mariett. Pierr. Grav. t. i. p. 13. (*m*) Plin. lib. 37. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 764. (*n*) Solin. cap. 38. p. 56. (*o*) Herodot. lib. 3. c. 41.

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